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resentative of the Smithsonian Institution, became interested in its continuance as an aid to the psychological integration of the Indians. Renewed interest and agitation resulted in a charter, granted by the state of Oklahoma on October 10, 1918, which placed the peyote ceremony on a basis of legal equality with other religions by providing constitutional protection through the establishment of a Native American Church charged with the responsibility "to establish a self-respecting and brotherly union among the men of the native race of Indians and to foster and promote their belief in Christian religion with the practice of peyote sacrament as commonly understood among the Indians."

From the Comanches the worship of peyote spread to the Kiowas, Wichitas, Pawnees, and Shawnees before the turn of the century, and between 1900 and 1907 to the Poncas, Kickapoos, and Kansas. This was perhaps the most important cultural contribution of the Comanches to the lives of other American Indians; for from these tribes, who received the cult directly from the Comanches, the peyote complex has spread throughout the plains and, in recent years, into the Great Basin and the deserts of the Southwest, where the Navahos are now beginning to adopt the faith.

The peyote ritual as practiced by the Comanches today differs only in minor details from the early session presided over by Charcoal.

Thus in time of their travail the Comanches found a new faith to help them through their great emotional and spiritual crisis. It did not solve their problems of adjustment to confinement on a reservation, but it helped to ameliorate their suffering and to prevent total disintegration.

As life on the reservation settled down, the Comanches were not always satisfied with the way the government fulfilled its obligation to supply rations and annual provisions. Contractors were slow in getting supplies to the point of delivery, and the freighters were slower still. The goods were often misdelivered and had to be reshipped. It was difficult for freighters to cross the swollen streams. Sometimes delivery was months behind, causing tremendous suffering on the part of the Indians.[22] When they did arrive at the reservation,

[22] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1885, 7.

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the goods were often of a most inferior quality and could not be used. Many agents and contractors connived at rewarding themselves from government contracts at the expense of the Indians. When Agent Hugh Brown, who assumed his duties in June, 1893, attempted to force the contractors to deliver in full according to the terms of their contracts, he was removed before the year was out.

At first the policy was to issue the rations to the chiefs, who in turn distributed them among the people of their respective bands. This policy did not always assure a fair distribution. Agent Tatum in 1871 made a count and found 4,444 actual eligible residents as compared to a count of 8,746 claimed by the Indians as being entitled to rations. To remedy this situation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs ordered a change in the distribution system so that each family would receive its own rations directly. Each family was given a card with the family name at the top and the number of persons in the family. The card was punched when rations were issued. A military officer was also required to be present when rations were given out.[23]

Issue day, once a week at times and once every two weeks at others, was a gala occasion. The women with their ration cards filed by various clerks who served them much as in a modern cafeteria. The beef was issued sometimes on the hoof, and here the men came in for participation. The animals were penned in a great corral near the agency, from which they were turned loose one at a time. The waiting men and youths pursued them, making a pretense of their old buffalo hunt. Firing at the fleeing animals from the backs of running ponies, they presently brought them down. They seemingly were not as effective with pistols as their fathers and grandfathers had been with bow and arrow and lance. Waiting women and children hastened to skin and cut up the animals as soon as they were killed. Considerable trouble often arose over the issue of beef, since obviously each family could not have the choice parts.

Issue days were times of feasting, gambling, and entertainment. The trend developed rapidly during the administration of Captain J. Lee Hall, who became agent in 1885. Captain Hall was generous,

[23] Hayworth, *Annual Report*, September 20, 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1876, 52.

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hospitable, and a heavy drinker who allowed the agency to go on sprees. One principal amusement when not eating or gambling was horse racing, as it had been of old. The long, straight road between the agency buildings was the favorite track. But this was the only street of the village. Freight wagons rumbled along it, children played in the middle of the road, and the women crossed back and forth. Fearing someone might be injured, the agent ordered the Indians to hold their races in a near-by pasture. On a level place they laid out two straight tracks side by side, about ten yards apart and one-half mile long. Only two horses raced at a time. When one race was over and the bets paid, another would follow as long as there were any one who would race. Not infrequently a loser left without money, blanket, or food.

Sometimes the entire week's supply of rations was gone before a family left the station, and it was not unusual for them to beg for more. In 1892, the agent estimated that the Indians were 50 per cent self-supporting, with government rations making up the other 50 per cent of their subsistence.

Those families who lived some distance from the agency spent most of their time going to and from the agency for the purpose of drawing their rations. To avoid this situation, Agent P. B. Hunt issued rations for more than one week to those who were farming and found it a handicap to come to the agency so frequently. In 1886, a ration station was opened at Fort Sill as a means of helping solve this problem. As the Indians became adjusted to the white man's mode of living, only one member of a family went to the station for rations. Before the close of the ration period several families or a community might send in only one or two persons to obtain their supplies.

The thirty years set by the Treaty of Medicine Lodge for issuing rations and supplies ended in 1897. By this time the Indians were becoming established with farms and cattle, supplemented by income from grass leases and from wages received from hauling and for other odd jobs. The end of rationing was delayed, however, until the opening of the reservation to settlement in 1901, when it was rapidly discontinued. Afterwards only those Indians unable to work were given

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rations. During the fiscal year 1909–10 only eighty-seven, all of whom were unable to work, received rations, to the amount of $4,335.90.[24]

The breakdown of established norms of behavior and the change to new patterns of conduct resulted in many social conflicts and disturbances. The whites were not sufficiently well acquainted with the Indians always to apprehend the guilty parties and mete out justice as well as some of the Indians. Horse thieves preyed on the Indians' herds. It was easy to round up a bunch of ponies in the isolated portions of the Comanche lands and run them off into the Chickasaw country or into Texas, where they had a ready sale.

To assist the agents in maintaining order on the reservation, Congress in May, 1878, provided for a system of Indian police. They were to be provided with badges, uniforms, and guns, and each officer was to receive eight dollars and each private five dollars a month in addition to full rations.[25] Their business was to ride over the country and keep watch for thieves and trespassers, to report any troubles that might arise among the Indians of the reservation, and to keep watch over the Indians' cattle and horses. They would work under the agent's orders.

Agent P. B. Hunt, whose task it was to organize the first police force, found it difficult to secure men willing to serve. He wanted young men, but the compensation was too small to induce men to volunteer for the service. Furthermore, the chiefs declared that it was not right for younger men to arrest the older members of the tribe. The agent reminded the leaders that the police were to work for all their people, to guard their livestock, to carry information to the agent and from him to their people; they would do work similar to the Cheyenne Dog Soldiers. In order to win the support of those objecting to the police, the headmen were commissioned to arrest anyone committing a crime on the reservation, thus satisfying them with a semblance of their old authority.[26] To complete the police rolls, Hunt found it necessary to refuse the Comanches the permit for their annual

[24] Supt. Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, *Annual Report*, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[25] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1878, p. xlii; Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Hunt, September 28, 1878.

[26] Agent J. Lee Hall to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, June 19, 1886 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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buffalo hunt until the required number of men had agreed to serve. The necessity and eagerness of the Indians to continue their annual hunts compelled them to fulfill the agent's demand.[27]

When the force was organized on October 1, 1878, it consisted of one captain, two lieutenants, four sergeants, and twenty-two privates. Their authority was seriously limited, and they were not adequately equipped for effective service. Yet, they consistently rendered commendable service and managed to settle without trouble many cases which might have led to serious consequences had a white peace officer attempted to make the arrests.

Matters of justice and punishment were partially entrusted to the Indians also. Much of the agent's time was consumed in hearings and adjustments of smaller troubles, while serious cases made necessary a journey to the federal court at Wichita Falls. The Indians refused to use voluntarily the available courts in Texas. Both Agent Hunt and Agent Hall recommended the establishment of an Indian court in which matters pertaining to the reservation could be handled. Both relied upon the aid of tribal headmen like Quanah Parker to help with difficult cases.

Situations that were new to the Comanches were handled by the Indian officers on the lines of old Comanche principles. As an example, we have a case remembered by Eagle Tail Feather.

« « « One Comanche beat another to a claim for a half-section of land. This one who lost out was making a big complaint about it, and the man who had received the land said that if he lost the land because of this fellow's objection, he would kill him.

Quanah Parker decided the case on old lines.

He called in two well-known warriors to decide on the war records of the two men. One of these warriors was late in coming in, so he sent me out in his place to get the record of the man who felt he was being beat out of his claim. I was chief of the Indian Police. The man who had the claim asked if he could go along too.

When we found the warrior, this man who had the land said, "Who is the better man, I or this other fellow?" He thought the warrior would give him the credit.

[27] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 64, 68.

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177 "All right," the warrior answered him, "you asked me. I'll speak
x 618 right out. This other fellow is the better man. I was in a battle where
●657 I saw him get off his horse and help a dismounted comrade out of
695 the midst of the enemy. He is a brave man and did a great deed. You had better look out or he will whip you or kill you!"

I took this report back to Quanah. It was then up to this fellow to come out with a true account of a braver deed or else give up the land and abide by the decision.

He could not do this, so Quanah and the two warriors decided for the complainer. That man had to give up the land and keep quiet. » » »

This is hardly the way a white court would have decided the validity of a land claim in dispute. And we have strong doubts as to its being the way that it would have been settled by Comanche peace chiefs, if they had been called upon to adjudicate by the Anglo-Americans. But it was sound Comanche reasoning from a war leader's point of view, and in terms of the Comanches' premises it was just.

177 In 1886, provision was made for the establishment of the Court
x 648 of Indian Offenses with power to try minor cases. The court as con-
657 stituted that year was composed of three judges who were selected
692 by the Indians with the assistance and approval of the agent. The presiding judge was paid thirty dollars a month; the other two, twenty-five dollars each. The agent certified Quanah Parker of the Comanches as presiding judge, Lone Wolf of the Kiowas and Jim Tehuacana of the Wichitas as the first members of the newly created court. The court was to have jurisdiction over both the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache and the Wichita-Caddo reservations. It was to meet twice a month.

The plan worked well. The judges fully appreciated the dignity of their positions, and the Indians were more willing to submit difficulties or complaints to their own court presided over by their own chiefs. The presence of two of the three judges from other tribes was intended to assure impartial hearings and sentences. The court assessed fines or jail sentences which sometimes were more severe than the white man's law assigned for like offenses, and a few times

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the agent asked the court to reduce the sentence. Cases of murder were subject to trial in the federal courts in Texas under the Act of 1887. Offenses handled by the court included the holding of Sun Dances, Scalp Dances, polygamy, medicine making, timber selling, disturbances, fighting, stealing, and selling girls. The constitutional jurisdiction of the court in the first four of these "offenses" is highly doubtful, but nobody bothered to challenge the issue in those days. The dance penalty was loss of rations for ten days for the first offense, and fifteen to thirty days for the second. The court functioned until the opening of the reservation to settlement, when it was officially abolished on July 1, 1901.[28]

After the Comanches and their Kiowa allies had been subdued and placed on the reservation, the buffalo disappeared so rapidly that the Indians could not comprehend what had happened. Without them there was no hope for their old way of life. With longing, many told themselves that the buffalo had gone into hiding and could be brought back by proper power. In 1881, a Kiowa medicine man claimed to have gained the power to make the buffalo return, but his medicine failed him.[29]

While still hoping for a miracle before the inroads of white civilization should sweep the last vestiges of the old way of life from them, there came in 1890 whispers—good tidings from the north. It was the promise of the Ghost Dance prophet. The Comanches first heard the story from the Cheyennes. High Wolf, a chief of the Sioux, and Sitting Bull of the Arapahos came to teach the new message to the Kiowas and the Comanches. These people were told by the visiting teachers that the Great Spirit had taken pity on his children. Wovoka of the Paiutes, alias Jack Wilson, had had a vision. When the sun was darkened in the daytime, his spirit went away from his body, ascended to Heaven, and learned the word of the Great Spirit. It returned with a message to Wovoka. Jesus had once come to the white people and they had killed him. He was now coming to the Indians on top of a new earth which would cover the old earth. He

[28] Supt. J. A. Buntin, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1930, I, 4 (MS collection, Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko, Oklahoma); Agent G. D. Day, *Annual Report*, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[29] A truly beautiful narrative of this event may be found in Marriott, *op. cit.*, 142–54.

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The old way of life was nearer an end than they feared. The whites were rapidly pushing in. When the Indians and the buffalo had been removed from the plains of Texas, the cattlemen quickly covered the area with vast herds. Many thousand head of cattle were driven northward to market. By 1877 the Comanches were troubled with trespassing cattle, and the agent was instructed to have these cattle removed. A penalty of one dollar a head was to be collected from the owner of such cattle when the animals were driven on the reservation to graze, but nothing was to be collected for what the cattle ate while being driven through the reservation, since "this is incidental."[81]

Some of the cattlemen took advantage of this decision by driving their herds across the reservation where the best grass was to be found, and although the herds might not be turned loose to graze, they traveled at a much slower rate across the reservation than was customary for herds on the north-bound trail. To remedy this situation, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in 1881 established a definite trail across the reservation leading toward Fort Dodge. It crossed the reservation for a distance of about twenty miles, northwest through Greer County. The Abilene Trail followed the east line of the reservation. The Commissioner opposed the opening of a trail in 1883 from Doane's store north by way of Fort Sill on the ground that the cattlemen would start their cattle in the spring and fatten them on the grass of the reservation, which would interfere with efforts to build up the herds of the Indians.[82] Cattle were to move along the trails at the rate of not less than ten miles a day. It was the duty of the soldiers and police to see that the herds were kept on the trail and that they traveled at the required rate of speed.

There was a drought in 1881, and about the same time the government reduced the ration of beef to the Indians. Agent Hunt offered to allow the cattlemen to graze their herds on the reservation during the winter and spring in return for a specified amount of beef for the Indians. They paid willingly, for they received more in return than the value of the animals donated. They were certain that the

[81] Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[82] Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kioway Agency, 1882–1884" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

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Indians would take what they needed anyway. The agreement was unofficial, but to the cattlemen it gave an aspect of legality to their enterprise, and as such it constituted the first paid grazing leases contracted for the reservation. The cattle of the ranchers who paid were allowed to cross the river to the reservation unmolested, but those of the others were driven off. This plan was followed for several years, the twenty or more cattlemen with whom the agreement was made each taking a portion of the range.

Once the cattle had been placed on the reservation, the owners were slow to remove them at the designated time or to continue to pay for their right to pasturage. There was, after all, much unused grass on the reservation, and to Texas cattlemen the use of the grass was very important. They could see no reason why it should go unused. Consequently, they drove their cattle to the border of the reservation, and allowed them—possibly with some urging and guidance—to wander or stray on to the reservation. The Indian police attempted to guard the border, but the line was long. Each week the chief of police was instructed to remove the cattle illegally grazing the reservation; the government employees tried and failed to keep the cattle off; the troops tried and failed. Agent Hunt said that it would have required an army to keep them off.[33]

Cattlemen resorted to other schemes to get their cattle on the reservation. Emmit Cox, a white, came to the tribe and married the daughter of Quanah Parker and secured his bride's right to graze. In 1881, Cox had a large herd of steers, which he claimed as his own, near Lawton, but it was rumored that they belonged to a Texas cattleman who paid Cox $1.50 a head annually to get them on Comanche land.[34] When the cattlemen failed to obey the orders, Hunt gave them a thirty-day notice and then proceeded to levy fines on violators. But the fines were so small, and it was so difficult to prove that the owners purposely drove the cattle on to the reservation, that most cattlemen disregarded the orders and paid the fine, if they were found guilty. Since Hunt was unable to keep the cattle off, he called upon outside assistance. One of his last official acts before leaving the agency was to post notices in the post offices and stores along the

[33] Hunt, *Annual Report*, 1885, *loc. cit.*, 89.
[34] Claude Southward, *Nocona's Nest*, 30.

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Texas border that no cattle were to be driven on to the reservation and to call upon the Texas sheriffs to assist in enforcing the order. Agent J. Lee Hall reported that during his first summer of tenure the Indian police removed from the reservation ten thousand head of trespassing cattle.[35]

It was only a short step from paying for grass with beeves to contracting a lease for grazing, but even so there were difficulties involved. By 1885, both the agent and a number of the Indians realized that they could not prevent trespassing and that it would be better to lease grazing privileges than to try to enforce the ban on grazing. In February, 1885, a delegation of Indians were told that they might make their own arrangements with cattlemen, but that the government would not handle the business for them. An arrangement was made with several large cattle firms, and the first money payments to the Comanches were made under this agreement in the summer of 1885. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept money for fear that a scheme to deprive them of their lands was involved. In February, 1892, the Indians in council appointed a delegation to go to Washington to discuss grass leasing. As a result, the agent was granted authority to submit one-year contracts for approval. Six leases, aggregating 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892.[36]

Agent W. D. Myers took a census of the Indians for the purpose of paying the lease money due them. To complete the census required several months, for definite and permanent names had to be decided upon and enrolled as such. Very often confusion arose over the spelling of a name; the Indian might use one name among his Indian friends and still another on the ration rolls. Births and deaths were not always reported. The Indians' share of the "grass" money was paid twice each year. The Commissioner of Indian Affairs directed that all heads of families were to give receipts for their own shares, shares of their wives and of their minor children. In the absence of the husband, a wife might sign for him. In case of minor orphans, guardians were designated by the tribal headman.

[35] Hall, *Annual Report*, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1886, 131.

[36] Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1893, 29.

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All leases presumably were to be made through the Anadarko office and referred to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs at Washington for approval. However, some cattlemen used their political influence to secure leases in Washington without the knowledge of the agent. Fear of increasing encroachment of the land-hungry "boomers" made the cattlemen eager to lease large tracts at the government price of six cents an acre, with the result that the Indians of the Kiowa-Comanche reservation in 1893 leased 1,304,958 acres.[37] Most of the requests were for grazing cattle, but sheep and hog owners also asked for permits, although no permits were allowed for hogs.

In 1894, the crops were poor but the grass was excellent, and the agent persuaded the Indians in council to agree to use the semiannual payment of about $50,000 for purchasing fine young cattle. However, the project met with such a storm of protest from the traders to whom the Indians were indebted that it was set aside. The agent then devoted much effort to encouraging the Indians to be thrifty and buy their own individual cattle from their savings.

Meanwhile, the "boomers" made stronger and stronger demands for opening the Kiowa-Comanche reservation. Their principal argument was that the lands were not being used. The cattlemen joined the Indians in opposing the opening of the reservation, since they desired to continue leasing the grass for pasture. They employed an attorney in Washington and brought pressure upon congressmen to prevent it, but with little success, for on October 6, 1892, the Jerome Agreement was made at Fort Sill between the Comanche, Kiowa, and Apache tribes and the United States. According to the agreement, each Indian man, woman, and child was to secure 160 acres of land by allotment. Church, agency, school, military, or other public land could not be claimed by an individual. Sections thirty-six and sixteen of each township were to be held for school purposes, and sections thirteen and thirty-three for public institutions and welfare. The allotments were to be held in trust for twenty-five years, after which they were to be conveyed in fee simple to the holder. The period of trust could be extended if the government of the United States deemed it necessary for the best interests of the Indian.[38] During the trust

[37] *Ibid.*

[38] The Agency records show that twenty-eight were given fee patent (complete

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period the allotments were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to any indebtedness. In addition, four tracts were reserved to the Indians collectively: the "Big Pasture" lying along Red River, an area adjacent to the Wichita-Caddo reservation, an area east of the Big Pasture and adjoining the Chickasaw country, and a small area near Fort Sill for a wood reserve. The four tracts amounted to 551,680 acres; the Big Pasture with 414,720 acres was by far the largest.

For the surrender of their rights to all other lands of the reservation, the government agreed to pay the Indians two million dollars in installments of $500,000 each at such times as the "Secretary of Interior shall deem the best for the said Indians." The money was to draw 5 per cent interest while in the United States Treasury, the interest to be paid annually. The agreement was to become effective when approved by Congress.

Many leading Indians protested that the agreement was secured unfairly. They accused the interpreter, Joshua Givens, son of Satank, of falsely translating their statements. It is reported that the Indians were so infuriated with Joshua that they made medicine to cause his death as well as the commissioners'. They made an image of Joshua and threw mud at it. The fatal ailment would occur where the mud hit. The mud struck his chest. On the way home from the council, Joshua had a hemorrhage of the lungs. Shortly afterwards he died, and the commissioners did not long survive him.[29]

Since only a part of the Indians had been present at the signing of the agreement, opponents argued that it was illegal. The opposition party was supported by the cattlemen, and they did not concede without a fight. They sent a delegation headed by General Hugh L. Scott and Lone Wolf to Washington. The delegation obtained a hearing with President Grover Cleveland, who is said to have listened to their case and exclaimed, "I will not permit it. I will see justice done

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ownership) in 1926, and possibly a half-dozen since then. The trust period has been extended from time to time by executive order. The latest order extends it for twenty-five years from August, 1946. Personal communication from Supt. W. B. McCown to Wallace, June 12, 1945, and Executive Order 9659, Federal Register, November 24, 1945.

[29] J. J. Methvin, missionary teacher who went to the reservation in 1887, to Lillian Cassaway, June 22, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, Oklahoma University Library), Vol. XLII, pp. 415–16.

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these Indians as long as I am in power."[40] They hired an attorney in Washington and left him in charge of their fight to block ratification of the agreement.

They were fighting a losing battle. One by one the various chiefs were won over by the "boomers." They saw the futility of protesting longer, for nothing could hold back the mass of land-hungry whites clamoring for admittance. At most they merely delayed the opening, for on June 6, 1900, an act of Congress made the Jerome Agreement the law of the land, and on July 4, 1901, a Presidential proclamation ordered the execution of the agreement. According to the agreement, allotments were to be made as soon as possible. The Secretary of the Interior, acting within his rights, had delayed the execution of the agreement while awaiting the decision of Congress. The agent was not ordered to have the lands surveyed until 1895. But as soon as Congress acted, the work was rushed. Each Indian was allowed to select his or her own 160-acre allotment. Tracts for minors were selected by the parents or by the agent. As soon as a choice was made and the authorities informed, it was recorded and the Indian's title evidenced by the issuance of a trust patent.[41] By the next year the allotments had been completed. The Indian court was abolished on July 1, 1901, by the Commissioner of Indian Affairs in anticipation of the new status.

The lands not allotted to the Indians were surveyed into homesteads of 160 acres each and thrown open to the public. This opening was more orderly than preceding ones in that it was by lottery rather than by a run. Everyone who wished to get a claim was required to register between July 10 and 26. Prior to the registration, cattlemen were required to remove their herds and pasture fences from the reservation. Two registration booths, one at El Reno and another near Fort Sill, were set up. At El Reno 11,556 registered. The drawing of names from two large iron boxes was held at El Reno on July 29, 1901, before a crowd of 30,000. In a few weeks the country was full of whites who were plowing fields and building homes. Three townsites were laid out—Lawton, Hobart, and Anadarko, the last at the

[40] H. L. Scott, *Some Memoirs of a Soldier*, 201.

[41] Agent J. F. Randlett, *Annual Report*, 1901, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1901, 255.

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site of the Kiowa-Comanche agency. The auction of town lots occurred on August 6.

The change took place so rapidly that a corn field was converted overnight into the town of Anadarko. Other towns sprang up almost as rapidly. Lawton, the largest of the new towns, was for months a wild frontier place, with open saloons, gambling, and frequent fights. Roads leading through the reservation were filled with homeseekers and traders in covered wagons, on horseback, and on foot. The Indians were forced to change their way of living overnight, also.

But the "boomers" were not satisfied with a partial opening of the reservation. They continued to use the same argument—that the Indians were not using the lands. The demand could not long be delayed. Congress on June 5, 1906, provided for the opening of the remainder of the reserve lands of the reservation, the last big opening in Oklahoma. The law specified that these lands were to be sold under sealed bids to be opened by the Secretary of Interior. Before the sale could take place, the 517 Indian children of the reservation born after June 5, 1901, when allotments were completed, had to be given their 160 acres each. The men to whom the pastures were leased were allowed time to remove their cattle. Surveys divided the lands to be sold into 2,531 tracts. The sealed bids were to be placed in the Lawton land office between December 3 and 8, 1906, later extended until December 15.[42] Thus were the Comanches finally stripped of the last of their once vast tribal holdings.

The Geronimo band of Apaches, after having been held captives in Florida and Alabama, were removed to the Fort Sill military reservation in 1894, where they were held as prisoners until 1913. They were then permitted to decide whether they preferred to go to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico or remain in Oklahoma. The majority returned to New Mexico, but eighty-five chose to remain. Those who remained received allotments of land and cattle and were joined in 1913 to the Comanche-Kiowa agency. They are located largely in the vicinity of the town of Apache, north of Fort Sill.

Simultaneously with the opening of the last of the reservation, a

[42] Agent J. P. Blackmon, *Annual Report*, 1906, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1906, 309; Blackmon to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 20, 1906; Commissioner of Indian Affairs *Annual Report*, 1906, 159.

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movement was on foot for bringing statehood to Oklahoma and Indian Territory. On November 4, 1906, an election was held throughout the two territories for delegates to a constitutional convention. On November 20 that body met and began its work, and on November 16, 1907, Oklahoma was formally proclaimed a state of the Union. Verily, the phase of reservation life had passed, a short interlude of forty years. The Comanches had entered the White Man's Road. They were Lords of the Southern Plains no longer.

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agencies along the frontier, and to furnish blacksmiths to repair the Indians' arms and utensils.

The government early adopted the policy of passing out gifts, later institutionalized as annuities, at tribal gatherings when treaties were made in futile attempts to stem the harrowing raids of the Comanche and thus pave the way for White encroachment. The following is a representative list of goods distributed at a council in 1845:[25]

21 silk handkerchiefs, 3 cotton handkerchiefs, 4 cotton shawls, 8 pieces blue prints, 40½ yards blue and red strouding, 7¾ pieces blue drill, 75 pounds brass wire, 5 dozen tin pans, 13 tin buckets, 12 pounds vermilion, 12 dozen butcher knives, 1½ dozen cocoa handles, 5 dozen horn combs, 8 dozen ivory combs, 2½ dozen files, 7½ M. brass tacks, 2 pounds linen thread, 1½ dozen fire steels, 1½ M. needles, 1½ dozen looking glasses, 4½ pounds indigo and verdigris, 2½ dozen squaw hatchets, 4 dozen tin cups, 1½ dozen pair red blankets, 7½ dozen pair white blankets, 42 small bars lead, 12 large bars lead, 2 pieces unbleached domestic, 35 pounds powder.

Due both to impoverishment caused by the rapidly dwindling buffalo herds and to the pressure of White settlers, the Comanche became increasingly restive. Raiding, fighting with the United States Army and Texas volunteers, and the constant making and breaking of treaties characterised the years up to 1875 when the Comanche were finally rounded up and confined to the Fort Sill Reservation along with the Wichita, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache. Typical of the many treaties of the time was the one made at Medicine Lodge, Kansas, in 1867 when the government promised rations, an agency with a warehouse and a resident agent, physician, teacher, carpenter, blacksmith, farmer, miller, and engineer as employees. Through the years 1854–1859 many of the Texas Comanche had already been placed on a reservation where an unsuccessful attempt at farming and a settled life was made.

[25] R. N. Richardson, The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement, p. 128 (Glendale, Calif., 1933).

657 The early reservation days were largely times of turmoil and discontent. Rations were often scant and inferior, schools and hospital facilities were inadequate, and epi-
657 demics were rife. Cattle-men from Texas
648 grazed their stock on reservation lands without payment or permission, and altercations between the Indians and U. S. troops were
657 frequent. In 1879 the agent, Hunt, instructed that each family should be located on a piece of land on which they were to remain, and no Indian was allowed to leave the reservation without military escort—an in-
648 junction that was often disobeyed. Long before the Territory was opened to the flood of White settlers in 1901 the influx of prospectors, squatters, farmers, missionaries, traders, gamblers, liquor peddlers, adventurers, and squaw-men had begun.

657 Sheep were issued in 1877 and 1878, but
231 there was no sale for the wool and, the Indians were said to have disliked them so much that the idea had to be given up.
241 Farming was begun in 1879, but the Indians'
492 teams were too weak to break the heavy
464 sod and the plowing had to be done by Whites who continued to be hired as farm-
361 ers. The first houses were built in 1877 and ten years later a number of churches were
136 erected. By 1880 the buffalo were gone and cattle had replaced them on the ranges.
434 "Grass money", paid by Texas cattle-men for grazing privileges, was instituted in 1885 and provided the chief source of
625 tribal income. The Indian police were or-
692 ganised in 1877 and in 1886 an Indian court was established and functioned until 1900.
657 Earlier, in 1872, the first of a series of joint delegations of reservation Indians went to Washington.

648 The ratification in 1900 of the "Jerome
657 Agreement" between the United States
178 government and the Apache, Kiowa, and Comanche Indians marked the end of reservation life and ushered in the modern
648 period. Under its articles the Indians ceded
423 their claims to the land formerly known as Indian Territory except one tract called "the Big Pasture", and each man, woman,

and child was allotted 160 acres with sections set aside for schools and public institutions. The allotments were to be held in trust for 25 years after which time title was to go to the Indians unless the President extended the trust period. For relinquishing their rights the Indians were to receive two million dollars payable at some unspecified date in per capita payments of $500 each with 5 per cent interest paid annually. The lands were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to indebtedness during the trust period. Thus the Comanche became citizens under the allotment system and rations were withdrawn in 1901. Since these allotments were widely scattered and interspersed with White farms, the development of a tribal community was largely precluded and the process of acculturation thereby hastened.

In summary, the history of Comanche contacts with Western culture shows an early period of vacillating hostile and friendly relations, largely tangential in nature, with the Spanish, French, and Americans which lasted until about the middle of the nineteenth century. That date marked the end of Comanche tribal autonomy and ushered in a period of rapid cultural change. Another fifty years may see the old Comanche culture pass into the legendary as it already has for most of the younger persons today.

3.0. The Comanche language is a member of the far-flung Uto-Aztecan stock first set forth by Buschmann[33] and further delineated by Kroeber,[34] Sapir,[35] and Whorf.[36] Sapir

[33] Johann C. Buschmann, Spurend der Aztekischen Sprache im Norden, Abhandlungen der koeniglichen Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin aus dem Jahre 1854 (Berlin, Germany, 1859).

[34] A. L. Kroeber, Shoshonean Dialects of California, UCPAAE, 4.65-165 (Berkeley, Calif., 1907), and Uto-Aztecan Languages of Mexico, Ibero-Americana, No. 8 (Berkeley, Calif., 1934).

[35] Edward Sapir, Southern Paiute and Nahuatl, a Study in Uto-Aztecan, Part I, JSAP, n.s., 10. 379-425; Part II, AA 17.98-120, 306-28 (1915), and continued in JSAP 11.443-88 (1914), (begun in 1913).

192 wáhahávicI *Tuesday* (*slept twice after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/páhihávicI *Wednesday* (*slept three times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/háyarokwihávicI *Thursday* (*slept four times after Sunday*); tapúharaihva?atu/mó?ove?kahávicI *Friday* (*slept five times after Sunday*); tĭhimAhravenItĭ[128] *Friday* (*rationing day*); tĭevuharavenItĭ *Saturday* (*little Sunday*); ?ikĭromon *New Year's Day* (*new* or *fresh year* [tomO may mean either *year* or *winter*]); ko·korá?/nóyopĭkhratĭhka?enA *Easter* (*when one customarily eats chicken eggs*); pĭkhrapiarĭhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when there is big eating*); pĭkhrako·korá?a·rĭhka?enA *Thanksgiving Day* (*when one eats chicken*); pĭkhrawá·cinika?enA *Christmas* (pĭkhra- *when* + wa· (pI) *cedar* + ci- *with a point* + nika- *push into* + -?e, habitual verbal

[657] [128] Up until about 1900 the Government used to issue clothes, groceries, utensils, meat, etc., to the Comanche on Fridays. This is more common than the alternative word for Friday above.

[p. 237-A]

553 tutionalized joking relationship, such nick-
551 names were usually given by an in-law,
602 and more frequently than not were derogatory or had some sexual or obscene reference.

553 A young man would often receive a new name after he had proven himself on his first war party. Or, a young warrior, who aspired to the name of an old man who had been a famous warrior, could ask permission of the oldster to become his namesake. The old man might then put the youth to the test of equalling a feat well remembered by the people. If the youth met the test, the old man would be compelled to give up his illustrious name and use a former one.

533 In earlier times names along with other
787 gifts were bestowed through visitations by
776 supernatural spirits who were sought out by fasting and dreaming in secluded places.
[178] This practice, however, seems to have been in eclipse as early as 1870, although many older Comanche still bear names given them
551 by their guardian spirits. Thus, Comanche
181 names may be characterized as varied and highly individual, a fact which reflects Comanche emphasis on the worth and variety of the individual personality.

551 6.2. By a study of the 2394 Comanche
177 names on the January 1940 census rolls
[161] one may trace, from the older through the younger generations, the adoption of the White system of patronymics and the consequent displacement of the native naming patterns described above. This shift was accomplished largely within the past seventy-odd years dating from the early reservation period. Rollcalls, the taking of vital statistics and census data, intermarriage with Whites, rationing, attendance at schools and churches, orthodox baptisms, trading, and the casual bestowal of personal names by the Whites were all factors instrumental in the change.

551 Although the rolls were called every three
177 days, the men by name and the women and children by count, as early as 1875, the first
657 formal census was taken in 1890 and names of Indians "had to be definitely decided

11: Casagrande E,L-5 (1940) 1954
NO6 Comanche NO6
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upon and so listed. . . . each Indian was required to give the name he preferred and he was encouraged to keep it".[144] "Grass money", which was collected from White stockmen for grazing privileges on reservation land, was paid twice a year to each family according to the number of its members. This entailed a complete census each time and much struggling by officials with difficult Indian names was reported.

In an effort to systematize Indian names for the purpose of facilitating land allotments, etc., the Office of Indian Affairs issued a circular dated December 1, 1902, setting forth a number of rules governing the recording of Indian names on agency roles and their use in documents and for other official purposes: (1) The father's name should be the family surname; (2) The Indian name, unless too long and clumsy, should be preferred to a translation; (3) A clumsy name could be arbitrarily shortened by one familiar with the language, provided its identity was not lost; (4) If the use of a translation seemed necessary, or if the use of a translation had come into such general and accepted use that it ought to be retained, that name should be written as one word.[145] Though these rules were not always strictly followed for the Comanche, they probably accelerated and gave direction to changes already begun. In legal and administrative contexts such as land allotment, distribution of tribal income, inheritance, marriage, hospitalization, enrollment in boarding schools and voting, in short, as the Indians became more and more involved with the ways of the Whites, a fixed legal name became increasingly essential.

Every phase of the transition in naming

[144] Martha L. Buntin, History of the Kiowa, Comanche and Wichita Indian Agency, M.A. Thesis, p. 100, University of Oklahoma, Dept. of History (Norman, Oklahoma; 1931).

[145] F. W. Hodge, Handbook of American Indians BAE-B 30, Vol. II, p. 18 (Washington, D. C.; 1910).

[A, 244-B]

12: Canonge L-5 (ca. 1950-1955) 1958 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

XXXVI

539 1. soobe?sʌ$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ tʌa$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$. 2. okuse?$_1$ Lawton-a$_2$ kwihne?nakwʌ$_3$ nʌmʌ$_4$ paraiboo?$_5$ kahníba?i$_6$. 3. sukukuse?$_1$ nʌnʌ$_2$ u$_3$ kahnikʌku$_4$ waha$_5$ u$_6$ kahnitaikʌku$_7$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_8$. 4. surʌse?$_1$ nʌmʌ$_2$ paraiboo?$_3$ tʌhimʌrabeni$_4$ nʌmi$_5$ nobitʌranì?eeyu$_6$. 5. setʌse?$_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ suhka$_3$ tabeni$_4$ ukʌhu$_5$ sʌmʌnokima?etʌ$_6$, nobitʌ?eeyu$_7$. 6. wihnu$_1$ tʌehbuharabeni$_2$ pʌetsʌkusʌ$_3$ tʌhíma?eeyu$_4$, nah$_5$ hina$_6$ oyo?kʌsʌ$_7$ ta$_8$ tʌhka?ena$_9$ tʌasʌ$_{10}$ wanakotse?a$_{11}$. 7. surʌʌse?$_1$ sʌsʌmʌ?nʌʌ$_2$ wa?ihpʌ?anʌʌ$_3$ suhka$_4$ wanakotse?a$_5$ petihtai?eeyu$_6$. 8. tʌasʌse?$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ wo?arʌhkapʌha$_3$, —wo?abi$_4$ ma?$_5$.— me$_6$ niwʌnʌrʌ$_7$, u$_8$ betihta?eeyu$_9$. 9. nʌ$_1$ ahpʌ?se?$_2$ suhka$_3$ urʌʌ$_4$ tʌhimana$_5$ urii$_6$ hanikʌ-

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539 1. Long ago$_1$ it is said$_2$ we$_3$ go to get rations$_4$. 2. There to$_1$ (the) north of$_2$ Lawton$_3$ our$_4$ agent$_5$ had a house$_6$.
657 3. There$_1$ we$_2$ go to get rations$_3$ to$_4$ that$_5$ house$_6$ to$_7$ two$_8$
262 /that$_6$/ rooms$_7$. 4. /That$_1$/ our$_2$ agent$_3$ (on) ration day$_4$ tells$_5$ us$_6$ to camp$_7$. 5. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ that$_3$ day$_4$ all come moving$_5$ there$_6$, (they) camp$_7$. 6. Then$_1$ early$_2$ Saturday$_3$ morning$_4$ (we) get rations$_5$, just$_6$ what$_7$ /all$_8$/ one$_9$ eats$_{10}$ also$_{11}$ soap$_{12}$. 7. /Those$_1$/ some$_2$ women$_3$ throw away$_4$ that$_5$ soap$_6$. 8. Also$_1$ those ones$_2$ (are) saying$_3$ (of the) rice$_4$, —It (is)$_5$ worms$_6$,— (and) throw$_7$ it$_8$ away$_9$. 9. My$_1$ father$_2$ /that$_3$/ their$_4$ rations$_5$ fixes for$_6$ them$_7$. 10. Those

Comanche Texts

ʔeeyu$_7$. 10. surʌʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ wihnu$_2$ tabetʌkatsi$_3$, pimoróo^{ʔ}a$_4$ tʌkwʌsʌ^{ʔ}eeyu$_5$. 11. hayarokwetʌʌ$_1$ nʌmʌnaahkanʌse$^{ʔ}_2$ sʌmʌ^{ʔ}a$_3$ pimoróo^{ʔ}a$_4$ na^{ʔ}nʌbe^{ʔ}ku$_5$ tʌháni^{ʔ}eeyu$_6$. 12. tʌasʌ-se$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌ$_2$ ahpʌ$^{ʔ}_3$ suhka$_4$ uriiⁱ$_5$ hanikʌ^{ʔ}eeyu$_6$. 13. setʌse$^{ʔ}_1$ nʌʌmʌ$_2$ wihnu$_3$ sooko$_4$ narʌhka^{ʔ}rua^{ʔ}etʌ$_5$, tʌasʌ$_6$ tʌhka-pʌrua^{ʔ}etʌ$_7$, pʌʌ$_8$ kahnikʌhu$_9$ pitusʌ$_{10}$ nomia^{ʔ}eeyu$_{11}$. 14. sunihku$_1$ surʌʌ$_2$ usúni$_3$ hanimia^{ʔ}eeyu$_4$. 15. nʌmʌ$_1$ sokohne$_2$ ta$_3$ tsatuwahka$_4$, nʌmi$_5$ bʌakʌnu$_6$. 16. subetʌ$_1$.

<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<<< >>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>>

ones$_1$ then$_2$ [after] eating dinner$_3$, kill$_4$ cattle$_5$. 11. Four$_1$ families$_2$ butcher$_3$ one$_4$ cow$_5$, dividing (it) evenly$_6$. 12. Also$_1$ my$_2$ father$_3$ fixes$_4$ that$_5$ for$_6$ them$_7$. 13. Those various$_1$ Indians$_2$ then$_3$ get$_4$ lots of$_5$ groceries$_6$, also$_7$ (they) get meat$_8$, (then) move$_{11}$ back$_{10}$ to$_9$ their$_8$ homes$_9$. 14. In that way$_1$ those ones$_2$ always$_3$ go on doing$_4$. 15. When$_4$ 'they'$_3$ opened$_4$ our$_1$ country$_2$, (they) stopped doing for$_6$ us$_7$. 16. That is all$_1$.

171 764 dren of the common people are thrust out of sight in the most convenient way . . . (Dodge 1882:159).

171 114 764 While oversimplifying, Dodge recognized at least some factors that resulted in preferential burial treatment within a tribe. He unfortunately did not identify differences in customs among tribes. Consequently, he gives only little information -- he does not tell us which tribes sometimes placed the bodies of their dead in ravines.

764 171 According to Dr. O. G. Given, physician to the Kiowa and Comanche Agency, burials were made at easily prepared sites in crevices and in the ground (Yarrow 1881:142). Dr. Fordyce Grinnell of the Wichita Agency gives a more detailed account:

> The body is taken due west of the lodge or village of the bereaved, and usually one of the deep washes or heads of canons in which the Comanche country abounds is selected, and the body thrown in, without special reference to position . . . The saddle [from the horse used to carry the body to the grave] is also placed in the grave together with many of the personal valuables of the departed. The body is then covered over with sticks and earth, and sometimes stones are placed over the whole (Yarrow 1881:99).

● 657 101 The Wichita Agency, located at what is now Anadarko, Oklahoma, had jurisdiction over the Wichita, Waco, Caddo, and affiliated tribes. In 1879 the Comanche Agency was consolidated with the Wichita Agency and many of the Comanches came under its jurisdiction, although 764 a subagency remained at Fort Sill. Thus Dr. Grinnell's observations may be of Comanches 171 rather than Wichitas who, as far as is known, buried their dead in cemeteries (Schmitt 1952). 101 The Wichita did live in the area, however; possibly as late as 1850 there was a village one or two miles east of the Jared site (Marcy 1853:72), and they were there again for a few months after Fort Sill was founded in 1869. There is a possibility that some tribe other than the Comanche or Wichita was referred to, for in 1837 when the leader of a raiding party of "Wacos, Caddos, and Keechis" was killed during a battle, some of his followers tied a rope to the body, dragged it away, and left it in a ravine 114 (Wilbarger 1935:193). Details of the disposition of the body are not recorded, and we do not know if the body was abandoned, buried, or simply left until it could be retrieved for burial elsewhere after the battle.

[p. 323-B]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

no permanent villages. The horse provided means for rapid and relatively easy transportation across the vast expanses and, as a medium of exchange, it was a tangible form of capital wealth.

But the Comanches were over-powered eventually by the Americans. Americans crossed the Comanche hunting grounds on their way to Santa Fe and California frequently after 1846 and spread diseases that ravaged the Comanches more disastrously than the bullets from the guns of the soldiers and pioneers. The six-shooter proved to be for mounted men a superior weapon to the Indian bow and arrow. The iron horse moved across the prairies with a speed and an endurance that set at naught that of the Indian pony, bringing swarms of hunters, settlers, and soldiers into the Comanche hunting grounds. The hunters with a new, superior rifle began a reckless slaughter of the buffalo, and without the buffalo the Comanches could not possibly continue their old way of life. Armed cowboys drove their herds of hardy longhorn cattle farther and farther west to graze the nutritious grasses of the buffalo range until they were ready to trade in Abilene or in Dodge City for Yankee dollars. After the Civil War the government was in position to undertake vigorous military action.

These factors brought the United States government and the Comanches together in a peace council. By the Treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 the Comanches and their allies, the Kiowas and the Kiowa-Apaches, were assigned a reservation of almost three million acres in Southwestern Oklahoma. The reservation was bounded on the east by the ninety-eighth meridian, on the north by the Washita River to a point thirty miles above Fort Cobb and thence by a line due west to the North Fork of Red River, and on the south and west by the Red River and its North Fork. The treaty permitted the United States to construct railroads, roads, military posts, schools, and an agency—none of which the Comanches wanted. The government for its part agreed to provide annuity goods for a period of thirty years while the Indians were making the transition to an agricultural econ-

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

omy.[1] Probably one-third of the Comanches refused to sign the treaty and accept reservation life. But after the failure of the Quaker Peace Policy, the government embarked upon an aggressive military campaign that resulted in the total defeat of the Comanches in the early autumn of 1874.

The Comanches began life on the reservation politically, economically, socially, and spiritually bankrupt. Traditional culture patterns were no longer applicable. The chiefs could no longer maintain control. Without opportunity to hunt and to raid there was no means by which the men could attain social rank and prestige; the social system was frozen. Religious and moral concepts seemed valueless; their medicine had failed them. The buffalo were quickly slaughtered, leaving the Comanches without a source of supplying themselves with food, clothing, shelter, or other necessities.

The Comanches were expected to pass within the span of a single lifetime from the age of stone to that of steam. They were to accept the white man's language, his legal and moral codes, his religion, his food, his clothing. They were to build houses, schools, and churches, to purchase farm equipment and livestock, to improve their allotments, and learn to farm. It was a big assignment. Obviously, considerable capital was necessary for significant progress.

The cultural change was too rapid and too great for simple solution. For some there was no problem; they simply refused to take the white man's road and in an effort to resurrect the past, tried the sun dance, the ghost dance, and peyote—all in vain. A few farsighted individuals had realized from the first that there was no alternative for the white man's road. Reluctantly, the disillusioned began to take it. Favorable economic conditions made the transition easier.

Meanwhile, land hungry "Boomers" made stronger and stronger demands on the government to open the reservation. They argued that the lands were not being used. One

1. Charles J. Kappler (comp.), Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties, 57 Cong., 1 sess., Sen. Doc. 452 (5 Vols.; Washington, 1903), II, 977 ff.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NOo Comanche NO6

were troubled with trespassing cattle. As a relief measure, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs prescribed definite routes and regulations for drovers while crossing the reservation, and made it a penalty of one dollar a head to drive cattle on the reservation to graze.[3]

But the regulations could not be enforced. Drovers left the main trails and moved slowly across the reservation, and it was extremely difficult to prove that cattle had been driven deliberately on the reservation. The government reduced beef rations to the Comanches in 1881 just as a drought caused the cattlemen to be more anxious than usual to have their cattle graze reservation grass. It was then that Agent Hunt persuaded a group of cattlemen to donate beeves to the hungry Indians in return for short term grazing privileges. The cattlemen gladly accepted the offer for it clothed their action with an appearance of legality; and they were convinced that if they refused the Indians would appropriate cattle for food anyway. The range was apportioned among the cattlemen who entered into the agreement. Once the cattle were on the reservation as a result of such an arrangement, it was almost impossible to get them removed. There was considerable grass, and the cattlemen saw no reason why it should not be used. Consequently, this sort of unofficial leasing was continued until a more satisfactory system could be obtained.

By 1885 the agent and a group of the Indians favored a monetary remuneration in return for grazing privileges and asked the government to handle the business for them. The government refused to assume the responsibility, but authorized the petitioners to make their own contracts. The agent and Comanches thereupon proceeded to enter into

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3. Commissioner of Indian Affairs to Agent J. M. Haworth, March 30 and April 16, 1877 (MSS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files, Oklahoma City); Agent P. B. Hunt to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, December 31, 1883, in P. B. Hunt, "Copy of Record Book of Commissioner's Copy Press Book of Kiowa Agency, 1882-84" (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Wallace and Hoebel, *op. cit.*, 346.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

agreements with the cattlemen, and in the summer of 1885 received their frist grass-lease payments in money.[4]

But this system of leasing was likewise unsatisfactory. The Indians did not trust the aggressive cattlemen, and within a few years were convinced that their interest could best be protected by having the Washington government handle leases for them. Early in 1892 they named a delegation to present their case to the authorities in Washington. As a result, the agent was notified to submit one-year lease contracts for approval. Six leases, totaling 250,580 acres, were approved for the year beginning September 1, 1892, and Agent George D. Day reported that by that date he had collected $69,000 in lease money. Agent Day also reported that with the money he had purchased for the Indians more than one hundred new wagons, lumber for fifty new homes, and a "quantity" of livestock.[5]

After the Jerome Agreement was signed on October 6, 1892, the cattlemen were eager to lease and joined the Indian opposition to the "Boomer" demand to open the reservation. In 1893 they leased 1,304,958 acres of the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation at the government price of six cents an acre.[6] As a result of poor crops and good grass the next year, the agent proposed to spend the semi-annual payment of grass-lease money for young stocker cattle, but the vigorous opposition of the traders, to whom the Indians were in debt, caused him to abandon the plan, with the advice to the Indians that they purchase cattle on their own initiative.

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4. The Kiowas and Kiowa-Apaches for a time refused to accept any grass-lease money for fear that it was a scheme to deprive them of additional lands.—Agent J. Lee Hall, Annual Report, 1886, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1886, 131. The annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were printed each year as official United States government documents, usually as both Senate and House documents. Most reports of Indian agents were included. All annual reports of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were examined for this study. Reports and correspondence herein cited but found elsewhere than in the official printed documents will be identified.

5. Agent George D. Day, Annual Report, September 1, 1892, to June, 1893 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29. The Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises the affairs of the Comanches, Kiowas, and the Kiowa-Apaches. In most cases the records make no distinction as to tribe, and it is not always possible to give a breakdown of data on a tribal basis. Consequently, statistical data in this article are for the entire agency except when otherwise noted or clearly obvious.

6. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 29; Wallace and Hoebel, op. cit., 349.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

After a prolonged controversy, Congress on June 6, 1900, enacted the Jerome Agreement into law, and on July 4, 1901, a presidential proclamation ordered its execution. For the surrendered lands the Indians were to be paid $2,000,000 in four equal installments whenever the Secretary of the Interior deemed it best for the Indians; the unpaid balance was to draw 5 per cent interest, the interest to be paid annually. The law set aside 480,000 acres for a reserve to be held in common by the tribes. On September 1, 1902, all except 60,000 acres of this reserve had been leased for grazing to the highest bidder at rates ranging from twenty-five cents to two dollars an acre, or for a total of $132,269.90 for the year.[7] This was approximately $36 for each Indian man, woman, and child on the reservation. When the reserve was opened to the "Boomers" in 1906, the Indians were left without any common tribal lands to lease.

The individual allotment lease for agricultural purposes replaced the lease of tribal lands held in common. From the first, this type of land rental has been an important factor in Comanche life. After allotments were assigned, each Indian, with agency approval, could lease his own land. From October 1, 1901, when individual leasing began, until September 1, 1902, the agency approved 443 individual agricultural leases.[8] White men who leased Indian private land for agricultural purposes were required to make certain improvements on it. Those leasing in 1910 for a term of five years were required to place on each allotment a three-room house, a well, and to fence the land. The three-year lessees were to fence the land and to make certain general repairs. All improvements were to remain on the land when the lease expired, and they became the property of the land owner.[9]

The wisdom of such a policy is not difficult to understand. The Comanches did not know how to build houses or to improve their farms. They had not yet learned the value of

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7. Agent James F. Randlett, Annual Report, September 1, 1902, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1902, pt. I, 206.

8. Ibid.

9. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910 (Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

money or the importance of judicious spending. Rental payments—and there were cash payments even after allowance for houses and improvements—were at first payable on January 1 and July 1. These dates corresponded with the dancing periods, and the Indians could not resist the temptation to squander the money in celebrations. Consequently, the agent changed the dates to April and November in hope that the spring payment would be used for seeds, feed, and subsistence and that the fall payment would be used for winter clothing.[10]

The total income from individual allotment leases for agriculture during the fiscal year 1944-45 for all Indians of the agency was approximately $500,000, of which the Comanches received about $200,000 as their share. Grazing leases that year brought the land owner from ten cents to one dollar an acre; cultivated land from seventy-five cents to five dollars. Lease contracts ranged from one to five years duration. More than 80 per cent of the Indian land was leased for agriculture in 1945, largely to white neighbors. Most of the 3,750 leases were on a cash rental basis, payable semi-annually.[11]

The Comanches have not always received full value for their land leases. Over exploitation has depleted the soil and destroyed the excellent native pastures. Lessees, having no assurance that they could renew their leases upon expiration, naturally sought to swell their own profits as much as possible. On the other hand, the Indians have benefited from this kind of rental system. Allotted lands have been fenced, wells dug, houses constructed, home furnishings purchased, barns built, and livestock acquired. To what extent this gain would have been made had there been no leasing for agriculture, it is impossible to judge. The individual allotment lease for agriculture, by bringing the Comanches into daily contact with the whites, caused the

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10. Superintendent J. A. Bustin, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1939 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko, Oklahoma). This is a comprehensive and valuable report, containing a great deal of statistical information and covering the years 1901 to 1934.

11. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945 (MS, 22 pp., mimeo., copy in possession of author), pt. I, sec. II, 4; Kiowa-Comanche Agency Records, Land and Lease Division (Anadarko), June 14, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

Comanches to acquire American cultural patterns more readily than they would have otherwise.

The oil lease is a third type of land rental. It provided revenue from drilling permits and from royalties, production and sale. The Burkburnett strike in Texas, just across Red River from the Kiowa-Comanche Reservation, set off a great deal of oil activity. When the North Texas fields were expanded into the channel of Red River, a four-sided controversy developed over ownership of the south half of the bed of the river. Texas claimed to the middle of the stream; Oklahoma claimed to the south bank on the basis of the Adams-de Onis Treaty and that the southern half of the river passed to her when she entered the Union because it was a navigable stream; the United States maintained that the south half of the river was the property of the central government; and the three tribes of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency argued that the southern boundary of their reservation was the south bank of the Red River from the mouth of the North Fork on the west to the ninety-eighth meridian on the east. The Indians claimed the south half of the channel as a matter of equity, refused to accept as final the decision of the Supreme Court awarding the disputed area to the United States, and appealed their case to Congress. After five more years of controversy the question was satisfactorily settled in 1926. The Sixty-ninth Congress granted the three tribes 62½ per cent of all royalties from oil and gas taken from the south half of the river bed. The remaining 37½ per cent was to be paid to the state of Oklahoma in lieu of all state and local taxes due from such property and was to be credited to the public school fund.[12]

By the time Congress acted, the amount of the funds in dispute had accumulated to $1,200,000 approximately, and the Indians' 62½ per cent annual share from producing wells was about $100,000. But production in this area rapidly declined. Royalties from it in 1945 were less than $10,000.

12. United States Statutes at Large (Washington, 1927), XLIV, pt. II, 740-741; also see, Grant Foreman, "Red River and the Spanish Boundary in the United States Supreme Court," in Chronicles of Oklahoma, II (1924), 208-210.

[113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

427 Rental payments at first were made annually on a per capita basis, but in recent years they have been made only when the amount seemed sufficiently large to justify distribution.[13]

Oil companies began activity in 1919 on the reservation north of the Red River, and the next year oil and gas were discovered in the Walters, Hanbury, and Cement areas. No more than five allotments were involved in either of the fields, but considerable individual leasing resulted. Production, which lasted only a short time, was obtained near Binger in 1934. A field was brought in near Apache in 1940. It had seven producing leases in 1945, and all wells were good producers.

[657] The agency has encouraged the Indians to lease their lands for oil and gas. Some lease blocks have been taken 427 several times. The collections have not made the Indians 434 wealthy but have provided considerable economic benefit. They totaled $233,000 for the fiscal year ending June 30, 1930, and in 1945 comprised between 30 and 40 per cent of the total of all individual money collections.[14]

434 Income from wages for labor provides the Comanches with 465 a second important source of revenue. Although many white neighbors consider the Indians shiftless, revenue from wages has increased constantly until by the time of World War II it had become the largest single source of annual income. 464 Shortly after Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived at Fort Sill in 1869, he purchased a saw mill, a shingle mill, and a grist mill. A few Indians accepted employment at the mills. Agent Hunt persuaded a few others to haul supplies and to cut 465 wood. In 1910 there were 110 Indian wage earners on the 434 Reservation with a total annual salary of $17,357.55, and by 1942 the total annual wages amounted to $907,153, or about three-eighths of all income.[15]

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13. W. B. McCown (Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Anadarko) to Ernest Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

[113] 14. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. II, sec. I, [113] 15. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1910; McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5* (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The Indian Service has made no effort to induce wage-earning Indians to accept any particular type of employment. During the depression years the government provided most of the jobs. Public projects in 1935 employed more than four hundred Indians for about two-thirds of the year. Since then, construction of concrete and masonry check dams and stock tanks, the clearing of approximately ten miles of the Elk Creek channel, cotton picking, wood chopping, highway construction, building trades, urban growth, and the military base at Fort Sill have furnished work for all who desired it. The Indian Service gives preference to Indian applicants provided they have equal or satisfactory qualifications. A few Comanches are beginning to take advantage of this opportunity. It also seems worth noting before leaving the subject of wage earners that Indian employers in 1944 paid out $300,000 in wages to other Indians of the agency.[16]

Agriculture provides the third important source of income for the Comanches. Although revenue from it constitutes a relatively small proportion of the total income of all the Indians of the agency, the Comanches are now basicly farmers and stockmen. Statistics are somewhat misleading in this respect because the Comanches are far more progressive than their Kiowa neighbors.

Once the Indians were confined to the reservation, the government set out to furnish seeds and agricultural implements to each Indian during the first three years of his farming efforts. When Colonel W. B. Hazen established Fort Sill early in 1869, he took steps to carry out this provision of the treaty without waiting for the arrival of the new agent. He hired a white farmer to teach the Indians to farm. He had three hundred acres near the fort plowed and planted in corn, melons, beans, and squash. But Hazen made very little headway with his program. His plan to build fences, set orchards, and erect homes and schools had to be postponed because most of the money given him by the army had to be used for food.[17]

16. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
17. W. B. Hazen, Report, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 992.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 241 Quaker Agent Lawrie Tatum arrived on July 1, 1869, and hoped to continue Hazen's humble but hopeful start. He offered an annual prize of five hundred dollars to be divided among the ten Indians producing the best crops. The Penatekas, who had learned something of farming through their contact with the whites in Texas and the agricultural tribes, raised some corn and vegetables. As for the other [462] Comanches, it was a difficult beginning. The men, unaccustomed to such labor, left the work to the women. They could not plow a straight furrow. They were offended at the suggestion that they thin corn which they had taken the trouble to cultivate. After eating green watermelons and getting the "devil inside my belly," they had even less enthusiasm for farming.[18] Native culture patterns conflicted with the new.[19] Fifteen hundred acres were prepared for cultivation in 1870, but the results were almost as [178] disappointing. It was apparent that the transition to an agricultural economy was to be a slow and painful process.

657 231 236 Colonel R. S. MacKenzie rightly believed it best to make stockmen of the nomadic hunters he had subdued in 1874, but he made a serious mistake when he chose sheep for them. He sold the horses which he had taken in his campaign against them in 1874, and with the proceeds purchased the next year 3,500 thoroughbred sheep and goats in New Mexico. These animals, he reasoned, would serve the triple purpose of supplying cash from the sale of wool and surplus animals, meat for food, and wool for blankets and clothing.

But MacKenzie had not taken all the factors into consideration. Many of the animals perished on the long drive to the reservation and others arrived in very poor condition. On issue day the Indians, dressed in their finest, gathered at the spot where Fort Sill Indian School now stands, and

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[113] 18. Agent Lawrie Tatum, Report, August 12, 1869, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1869, 245. Tatum to the Quaker Commissioner, July, 1870 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files).

[821] 19. A statement by Chewing Elk, October 6, 1873, illustrates this point. "Mr. Tatum gave me a piece of land, but the first night I stopped there a big thunderstorm came right over the house [tipi]. I thought this was bad medicine and lit out and have never been there since." Quoted by W. S. Nye, Carbine and Lance, the Story of Old Fort Sill (Norman, 1937), 223; also see, Hunt, Annual Report, 1873, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1873, 64.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

each "deserving" headman received a small herd. The Comanches soon discovered that they did not care for lamb chops or mutton stew, and there was not one who knew how to weave a rug or cared to learn. Boys chased the animals on the prairie and shot them with bow and arrow. The severe winter that followed took a heavy toll.[20] Camp dogs, wolves, and coyotes got what was left. More sheep were issued in 1878 but most of these died for lack of proper care. The wool could not be marketed satisfactorily, sheep required much care, and the Comanches disliked sheep so much that the plan to make sheepherders of them was abandoned.

MacKenzie had issued the Indians a few cattle. It would have been better had he purchased cattle with the money he spent for sheep and goats. The Comanches appreciated cattle. The transition from buffalo hunters and horse herders to cattlemen would have been relatively easy. But the obstacles were too great. The white cattlemen of the area, wanting the grass and opposed to competition, supported the government's policy of making farmers of the Indians. Cattle required considerable capital investment and the Comanches had no money. When the subsistence allowance of three dollars a month was inadequate or the supplies late in arriving, the Indians ate the stocker cattle acquired by government issue or by purchase. Nevertheless, a few Comanches did obtain herds. Tabanica, who lived four miles north, and Quanah Parker, twenty miles west of Fort Sill, were the first to have herds of their own.

Most of the agents adhered to the government policy of making farmers of the Indians. Since the country along the Washita River appears to be more suitable for agriculture than that in the vicinity of Fort Sill, the Fort Sill and Wichita agencies were consolidated in September, 1878, and placed on the south bank of the Washita at the present site of the small city of Anadarko. The Indian Office then instructed Agent P. B. Hunt to have all the Indians begin farming.

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20. Agent J. M. Haworth, Annual Report, 1875 and 1876, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1876, 272, and 1876, 52.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

When he heard of the move and the plan, Horseback, a Comanche Chief of distinction, complained that he did "not think the agent has good sense."[21] Horseback's judgment was sound. The Comanches, wanting neither to farm nor to live among the Kiowas, refused to congregate near the new agency site. Since they refused to move near the agency, they were left largely to their wits. Their grass-fed teams were too small and too weak to break the tough prairie sod near Fort Sill. As a result, they made very little progress in agricultural pursuits until after the reservation had been opened to white settlement and a younger generation had learned something of farming and stock-raising in school.

Agent Hunt realized the futility of attempting to make farmers of the Comanches and advocated that they be made stock-raisers, but he made little progress in his efforts and successive agents adhered to the policy of making farmers of them. During the years preceding the innovation of grass leasing, a few Comanches were persuaded to take up farming to better their economic condition. When Agent Day collected grass-lease rentals, he used part of the money to encourage farming. Agent Day reported that in 1892 the Indians of the reservation cultivated 5,000 acres and the agency an additional 500; that of the 800 acres of sod broken during the year, all but 60 had been broken by the Indians; that the 3,782 Indians on the reservation owned 10,000 horses, 300 mules, 25,000 cattle, 3,000 swine, and 75 sheep and goats; and that agricultural products marketed by the Indians during the year amounted to $3,550.25.[22] The accuracy of the agent's statistics is subject to question. Some of the livestock probably belonged to white ranchers who were clever enough to get free grass on the reservation. In 1910 the agent estimated that two per cent of the Indian population were stockmen, each owning from 10 to 50 head of cattle. At the same time he reported that there were some 600 Indian farmers on the reservation, approximately 15 per cent of the

21. Nye, op. cit., 225.
22. Day, op. cit.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

population, cultivating 15,000 acres in tracts ranging from 5 to 160 acres.[23] 657 241

Progress continued at about the same pace. In 1929 the crops were valued at $400,000, the agricultural implements and vehicles at $600,000, and the livestock at $286,000, and the Indian Office was urging the unemployed to refrain from leasing any land that they could utilize profitably.[24] The lower values reported for agriculture during the next few years represent the effects of the depression rather than a retrogression. In 1942 the income from agriculture was approximately $600,000. 657 241 433 [422] [458] [434]

The principal crops include cotton, wheat, corn, alfalfa, oats, and sorghum. Cotton, with an average annual yield of about 150 pounds of lint per acre, has been the leading cash crop. The Washita and Red River bottoms are well adapted to corn, producing an average of thirty bushels an acre. Grain sorghums thrive on the uplands and are utilized as feed for livestock. Wheat, grown on the level and rolling plains, averages about twelve bushels an acre. The pasture land has been over-grazed and in 1945 had a carrying capacity of only one cow to seven acres. 241 248 433 243 433 [246] 233 433

The Extension Service has rendered valuable assistance to the farmers. The older Indians are not interested, but the younger land owners are accepting its services. The Extension farm program has supervised and instructed the Indians in handling livestock, the preparation of the soil, the varieties of crops to plant, and methods of crop cultivation. It supervised the terracing of 18,646 acres of land in 1935. Farmers who terraced received concrete or masonry dams without cost.[25] 657 241

Credit and rehabilitation have been another phase of the Extension Service program. The Wheeler-Howard Act of 1936 made federal loans available to worthy Indians engaged in farming. By June, 1945, a total of 331 loans amount- 657 241 426

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23. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1916. [113]
24. Bustin, op. cit., um. II, 15-18, 20, 22.
25. Superintendent W. B. McCown, Annual Report: Narrative Section, 1935 (MS, Agency Office, Anadarko), 17-18. [113]

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

ing to more than $166,000 had been made under the provisions of the act. By this means many of the young Comanches are being induced to utilize their allotments. The loans were being repaid on schedule in 1945.[26]

The government policy of making farmers of the Indians has not succeeded as well as might be desired. The Indians have not become farmers in great numbers, many preferring to lease their land rather than use it themselves. They cultivated little more than 10 per cent of the trust lands in 1945. The trust system is fast creating a new problem. With the increase in the number of heirs, the tracts become too small for economic efficiency. Consequently, the heirs tend to lease the land and divide the rentals. Yet, among the Comanches there are a number of excellent farmers. There should be more and more as young people, leaving public schools with training in vocational agriculture, seek to find a place in the new society.

In general, the economic condition of the Comanches in the early 1940's was good. The 1600 Indian families of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency for the fiscal year 1944 had an estimated total income of $2,452,897,[27] or about $1533 per family. Since there were no land or tax payments and likely only very small installments on home and improvements to deduct, the amount compared favorably with that of other rural families of the South and Southwest.

A fairly regular income extending over a period of years has enabled the Comanches to build and furnish comfortable homes, erect good barns, and to make other improvements. In 1876 the agency built homes for the leading chiefs who were friendly to the government. Although the owner of a new home may have camped in the yard and used the house to shelter his stock, he was proud of it for it enhanced his prestige. Children enjoyed whooping in the empty rooms

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26. Scott B. Moore (director Kiowa-Comanche Agency leases and farm loans) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

27. McCown to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945. The income for the year was broken down thus: farming, $491,479; leases, $230,000; social security assistance, $22,644; relief, $5,230; wages, $907,183 (1942); service men dependent allotments, $194,100; miscellaneous, $2,500.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

to hear the echoes, and one boy asked his mother to make him a bed in the fireplace that he might look up the chimney at the stars. Only 27 Comanche families were living in houses in 1886, and in 1901 the majority of the 3,713 Indians of the reservation lived in tents, tipis, and in small boxed houses along the streams. Water was obtained from running streams and bedding was filthy; there were no screens on the houses, no toilets, and no effort was made to have clean, wholesome food.

After allotments were made, home building increased rapidly. The Indians received payment for their ceded lands and realized that they must cease to wander. White neighbors soon had homes on the tracts they had taken and this stimulated a desire on the part of some families to imitate. It has been stated previously that whites who leased Indian lands for a five-year period were required to erect and leave a three-room house on each allotment. Each year new houses went up; in 1930 twenty-one were built at an average cost of $1,636.22. By that time 90 per cent of the Indian families had good frame homes with sanitary toilets and other outbuildings.[28]

The homes compare to an advantage with the rural homes of white neighbors. Superintendent Buntin in his 1930 report estimated that the value of home furniture averaged alightly more than $300. A few Comanche homes presently are large and clean, are beautifully carpeted and furnished, and have running water, gas, electricity, and occasionally a good library. Since 1930 few families have lived in tipis or tents. But partly due to the depression and later war-time restrictions and partly due to the increasing number of landless heirs, home construction has not kept pace with the increase in the number of families. Since young married couples no longer have land and lease-money, they tend to live with parents.

The Extension Service has sought to improve the standards of home life. It enrolled 525 new members in Indian wo-

28. Buntin, *op. cit.*, sec. II, 10, 11.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

men's clubs in 1935. During the same year the gardening and food preservation clubs preserved enough to have supplied every Indian family of the agency with more than 100 quarts of canned fruits, plus 37 pounds of dried fruits and vegetables, with 8½ pounds of cured meat. Child welfare clubs made clothes, studied infant care, and dealt with the problem of child health. Home improvement clubs screened homes, made curtains, planted trees, flowers, and shrubs, and dug cellars for the storage of food. Foods nutrition clubs prepared under supervision 3,678 dishes during the year. 4-H Club members canned 837 quarts of food, made 1,183 pieces of clothing, and won two first places and a second place at the state fair.[29]

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Schools for the education of the Indian children of the Kiowa-Comanche Agency have been of three kinds: government boarding, mission, and state public. The government boarding school pioneered the educational program, provided a vocational training curriculum, and in recent years has become the school for orphans and the destitute. Since the government never intended to establish special schools for all the children, the mission schools rendered invaluable aid during the years preceding the opening of the public schools to them. The majority of children now attend public schools.

The Treaty of Medicine Lodge obligated the federal government to provide instruction for the Indians of the reservation. Congress appropriated a very modest sum for that purpose in 1870, and in the same year Josiah Butler and wife obtained permission to establish an agency school. On February 20, 1871, Butler and his wife opened the first school on the reservation in a thirty by sixty foot building located on the present site of Fort Sill Indian School, with four pupils, all Comanches, in attendance. Butler continued the school until June 27, 1873, but found it very difficult to enforce discipline.[30]

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29. McOwen, *Annual Report: Narrative Section*, 1935, 16-24.
30. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873, 228.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

In accordance with the recommendation of Agent Tatum, a separate agency was established for the Wichita and Affiliated Tribes, in 1871, on the Washita River. When Thomas C. Battey arrived on October 31, 1871, to establish a school at the new agency, he found that A. J. Standing for three weeks had been teaching a day school with nine pupils enrolled. Battey converted the school into the Riverside Indian Boarding School, and during the first term of four and one-half months enrolled twenty-four pupils. The curriculum included spelling, reading, writing, geography, and arithmetic. Most students learned to write during the first term. Battey had difficulty getting his pupils to adjust themselves to the new situation. They could not be induced to sit still, and would talk aloud. A flock of wild turkeys near the school caused a general stampede.[31]

During the following year Riverside Indian Boarding School had two teachers and thirty-seven pupils, none of whom were Comanches. A few Comanches had been attending but had moved away from the Washita River after their crops had failed in 1872. Beginning with the third year, the school was unable to take care of all who wanted to enroll, and in 1876-77 seventy-five boys, representing all tribes on the reservation, enrolled.[32]

A new government boarding school was established at Fort Sill in 1879 for the Comanches and the Kiowas. With facilities for only seventy-five pupils, the new school enrolled 118 during its first year. Already it was inadequate. The average daily attendance in 1883-84, as reported by the agent, was 84½.[33]

By 1889 the Indians were dissatisfied with the educational program. With 1,045 Indian children of school age on the reservation, all schools, both government and mission, had a total capacity of only 280.[34] The Comanches, still clinging

31. Thomas C. Battey, *The Life and Adventures of a Quaker Among the Indians* (Boston, 1875), 33-41.
32. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1873, 1874, 1875, 1876, 1877.
33. Agent Hunt, Annual Report, 1879, in Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1879, 48; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1880, 75, and 1884, 81.
34. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, *Annual Report*, 1889, 186.

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657 871 [186] to their tribal pride, did not want their children to attend school with children of other tribes. They wanted the Fort Sill school to themselves. The Kiowas wanted a school nearer their tribal headquarters. The government decided that the time had come to expand and improve the educational system. It agreed to build an additional school, made provision for entering into contracts with religious denominations to establish enough schools to meet the needs, and enacted legislation designed to encourage public schools to admit Indian children. A new and larger school was opened at Fort Sill in 1891, and two years later a government school was established for the Kiowas at Rainey Mountain. This made three government boarding schools on the reservation. Rainey Mountain School was discontinued after a few years, but in its place the government took over St. Patrick's at Anadarko, in 1909, and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932. Having made provision for schools, Congress in 1891 and 1893 enacted measures for improving the curriculum and for enforcing attendance whenever the circumstances seemed propitious.

For a variety of reasons, the government schools continued to be the most popular. They were operating 30 per cent above capacity in 1896, and a decade later, with a total student capacity of 454, they had a reported average daily [874] attendance of 430.[35] By 1910 six grades were taught; the practical vocational courses had become a part of the curriculum; and expert supervision had been inaugurated. Fort 657 Sill School was rated best.[36] By 1930 each government 871 school taught nine grades and maintained a modern farm 874 which the students were required to help operate. Fort Sill 242 School with 204 pupils had 220 acres in cultivation that year, and produced $13,500 in livestock and dairy products.[37] Beginning in 1935 an additional grade was added each year until there were twelve. All students above the sixth grade in 1945 were required to spend the equivalent of two days each week in vocational work. At that time Riverside In-

35. Ibid., 1896, 254; 1906, 310.
36. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, September 1, 1910.
37. Buntin, op. cit., sec. II, 24-27.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

dian School had 2,303 acres of land, 1600 of which was pastured and 650 cultivated. Its 30 modern buildings, valued at $755,000, located on a beautiful fourteen-acre campus on the north bank of the Washita River, served 301 pupils.[38]

The mission school bridged the gap between the restricted government boarding school and the free public school. It was a natural development. The Comanches and Kiowas, by now convinced that their old way of life was gone, offered a fertile field for missionary work. The federal government normally met its needs by means of contracts. Religious denominations welcomed government subsidy for a job they likely would have tried anyway. Thus, when the government in the late 1880's initiated a new policy for making education available ultimately to all Comanche and Kiowa children, it entered into contracts with several religious denominations to operate schools on the reservation. It agreed to pay tuition of pupils on a monthly per capita basis, the amount varying with each contract and from year to year.

The Northern Presbyterian Church was the first to establish a mission school under the new arrangement. Joshua H. Givens, son of the Kiowa Chief, Santanta, had been educated in the East by the Northern Presbyterian Church. When Givens returned to his people in 1889, he joined with the Reverend S. V. Faith, missionary for the Northern Presbyterian Church, in operating Mary Memorial Gregory School. The school was located south of the Washita, four miles from the agency headquarters. Its original capacity of fifty pupils was soon expanded to provide for one hundred.[39]

W. W. Carithers of the Reformed Presbyterian Church in 1889 obtained a tract of land for a mission school. He opened Cache Mission School in the autumn of the next year on Cache Creek, twenty-five miles from the agency, among the Kiowa-Apaches. Carithers gained the confidence and re-

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38. Max W. Penrod (Principal of Riverside Indian School) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

39. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1900, 353; J. J. Methvin, In the Limelight, or History of Anadarko (copy in University of Oklahoma Library with no title page), 88, 92.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

797 871 spect of both pupils and parents. The school, with facilities for accommodating about fifty pupils, was well attended by Kiowa-Apaches and Comanches.[40]

The Reverend J. J. Methvin in the same year established Methvin Institute for the Methodist Church, South, two miles from the agency headquarters. Methvin began with fifteen pupils, soon had thirty, and during the second year [871] was able to instruct seventy-five. Realizing that the Indian children were in greater need of instruction in the practical subjects than in the traditional arts, Methvin made the Institute an industrial school.[41] Under his able direction, the school had a relatively successful career for almost two decades.

The government set aside 160 acres of land one and one-half miles south of the agency, in 1889, for a Catholic school. Two years later St. Patrick's School was opened. The government took it over in 1909 and operated it as Anadarko Boarding School until 1932, when it was returned to the Catholics who have since continued it under its original name.[42]

797 871 For a few years the government increased annually the subsidy to the mission schools. For the school year 1893-94 ●657 it paid to four mission schools on the Kiowa-Comanche res- 658 ervation a total of $2,166.15.[43] However, strong protests were made in 1892 against federal aid to church schools. In 1893 the opposition brought about legislation granting federal tuition payments for Indian children attending public schools, and beginning in 1895, it was able to force a gradual reduction of government aid to mission schools until 1901, when it ceased altogether. After the government

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[113] 40. Agent Charles E. Adams to Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 16, 1890 (MS, Oklahoma Historical Society Library, correspondence files); Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1891, 351, and 1900, 353.

41. Methvin, op. cit., 88.

[113] 42. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1889, 199; a play entitled "A History of Riverside School" (MS, Riverside Indian School, Anadarko).

43. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1894, 504. The monthly federal aid per capita was as follows: Methvin Institute, $1.46; Cache Mission, $1.68; St. Patrick's, $1.84; Baptist Missionary, $2.43. Baptist Missionary School had a very short existence. It was located north of the Washita, and no Comanches attended it. Mary Gregory Memorial was not included among the schools receiving federal aid that year. Federal aid to the three government schools for the same year on a similar basis was: Riverside, $14.15; Rainey Mountain, $12.17; and Fort Sill, $10.45.

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ceased to provide aid, the mission schools rapidly declined, and within a few years all had closed their doors. St. Mary's and St. Patrick's, both Catholic, were the only mission schools in 1945, and they had a combined enrollment of only thirty-seven pupils.[44] St. Mary's had not been one of the early schools; St. Patrick's had not been a mission school from 1909 to 1932.

In recent years the majority of Comanche and Kiowa children have attended public schools. The long range policy of the Indian administration has been to utilize the public schools as the principal educational agency. It was generally conceded that the Indians could be assimilated into American society more quickly by the public schools than by any other means. Good attendance and satisfactory relations between the two races were essential for success. The opponents of federal aid to mission schools caused Congress in 1893 to take its first positive action of significance toward the execution of this policy. There were very few public schools at the time within reach of the Indian children and enough racial animosity existed to endanger the program if Indian children were forced at once into the public schools. The principal argument against admitting the Indians was that they paid no taxes. But since the white population was sparse and generally in poor economic condition, it needed financial aid in order to have good schools. Congress enacted legislation allowing $12.50 per capita each quarter for children of non-taxpaying Indians attending public schools.[45] By offering to pay tuition it hoped to accomplish a major step in its ultimate goal to use the public schools, to remove local white opposition, and to appease the opponents of federal aid to mission schools. When in 1901 Congress ended federal aid to mission schools without substituting another special school or materially expanding the existing government schools, the public school was the only one left for the majority.

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44. Martin Taylor (Supervisor of Education for the Kiowa-Comanche Agency) to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.
45. Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1893, 17.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

657 871 But the movement to the public schools required time. Although Congress had enacted legislation as early as 1891 permitting officials to compel attendance, the law had been used only rarely to fill the government schools. Compulsory public school attendance at the opening of the new [177] century was not yet practical. Allotments were not completed until 1906, the schools were few and small, and many whites were still opposed to Indian children in the public schools even for the increased revenue. Furthermore, the Indians did not want to attend. Only forty were enrolled in 1910, but the number increased rapidly during the following years. By enrolling the orphans, destitute, and undesirables in the government schools, the agency removed the cause for much of the white opposition. In 1918 the federal government ruled that the public schools must accept Indian children on the same basis as white children. By 1930, when 884 of the 1582 Indian scholastics were enrolled in public schools, practically all prejudice had disappeared.[46]

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871 183 Teacher reports indicate that Indian children under fifteen years of age progress as rapidly as white children of the same age group under similar circumstances. Children in the public schools do not get as much vocational training nor as long a term as those in the government schools. The Indian Office staff has urged all schools to include vocational training courses in the curriculum and believes that a few should adopt a program similar to that of the two government schools in order to provide every Indian boy and girl opportunity to obtain a practical education. About two-thirds of the two thousand scholastics in 1944-45 were in [658] public schools. The cost of the entire education program on the Kiowa-Comanche jurisdiction for the same year amounted to $164,104.72[47] or $82.52 for each scholastic. Compared with state appropriations, this was a liberal expenditure.

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797 Christian missionaries not only helped to fill the gap between the restricted government schools and the public

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46. Superintendent Kiowa-Comanche Agency, Annual Report, 1918; Commissioner of Indian Affairs, Annual Report, 1918, 29; Dustin, op. cit., sec. III, 11.

47. Taylor to Wallace, personal interview, June 12, 1945.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

The government provided the stimulus when it inaugurated in 1889 the policy of contracting with religious denominations to operate schools for Indian children on the reservation. Each contracting denomination organized one or more churches and carried on missionary work in connection with its school. The Reverend S. V. Faith of the Northern Presbyterian Church built a church south of the Washita near his school, and the Catholics operated a mission in connection with St. Patrick's School. The Dutch Reformed Church in 1890 built a mission just north of Medicine Bluff. It was in charge of the Reverend Frank Wright. The Baptist and Mennonite sects shortly afterwards entered the field. Between 1888 and 1907, Protestant denominations had fifteen stations and the Catholic one. The Mennonite Church was working exclusively among the Comanches during the time; the Baptist and the Reformed Presbyterian each had one station in Comanche territory. The Baptist with seven stations on the reservation was the most active, but by 1930 the Methodist had taken the lead.

For a long time the Comanches and the Kiowas were not interested in the missionaries. They loved their traditional life, and the medicine men played on their superstitions. Language was a barrier. The following amusing incident illustrates a problem. A missionary by the name of Gassoway was preaching to a group of Comanches in a trader's vacant store on Cache Creek. The Comanches had come out of curiosity to hear Gassoway's first sermon, and were genuinely dismayed to hear him shout and to see him shake his fist. In a few minutes they arose and solemnly filed out of the building. "He is mad at us," they said. Then Gassoway got Horace Jones to interpret for him. All went well until Gassoway began the Lord's Prayer: "Give us this day our daily bread." He got no further. When Jones repeated the words, the Comanches, thinking they were to get something to eat, stood up and shouted in glee: "Oh, ho!" Jones found it difficult to quiet them this time."[50]

It is difficult to evaluate the significance of the Christian missionaries among the Comanches. The missionaries did

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50. Nye, *op. cit.*, 141-142, from reminiscences of W. H. Quitetta.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

exert a powerful cultural influence at a time when the Comanches were groping for new behavior patterns. They cooperated with the Indian Office and other agencies in an effort to improve health, education, home life, social relations, and economic conditions of the Indians. As a result, most Comanches today are Protestants.

As a part of its functions, the Kiowa-Comanche Agency supervises a health program. Primarily, its program is both remedial and preventive. The Kiowa-Comanche hospital is located adjacent to Fort Sill Indian School, two miles north of Lawton. The original hospital was built in 1917, but a new wing was completed in 1929 and a tubercular ward was added in 1936. Both additions are fireproof and modern in every respect. The hospital with a capacity of 121 beds in 1945 had never found it necessary to turn away any patients for lack of facilities or trained personnel, according to officials. Some 1993 patients, of whom 798 were Comanches, were admitted to the hospital in 1930.[51]

Since it is neither convenient nor possible for all the people to go to the hospital each time medical service is needed, a clinic is maintained at the Agency headquarters at Anadarko. Three other stations, each with a full-time nurse, and a full-time traveling nurse assist in looking after the health of the Indians. The state health service, with a unit in each county, cooperate with the agency health service. The annual cost of the program during the early 1940's was approximately $190,000, largely derived from tribal funds. Patients unable to pay are not charged for service; the others normally pay a moderate fee.[52]

The health program has brought about a progressive improvement in the health and in health standards of the Comanches and the Kiowas. In addition to remedial and preventive value, the program has had far-reaching cultural significance. Like the Extension Service, the Christian missionaries, and the schools, it, too, is helping the Indians to

51. Bustin, op. cit., sec. III, 6-7.
52. McCown, Kiowa Jurisdiction, Program Kiowa Reservation, 1945, pt. I, 9, pt. II, 24.

20: Wallace H-4,5 (1945) 1953 NO6 Comanche NO6

make the cultural transition they have been called upon to accomplish. As a result of its work, many tribal superstitutions are being discarded for modern scientific concepts. Although hardly a Comanche would accept a white physician at the beginning of the reservation period, the Indian practitioner today is almost a forgotten man.

The Comanches are still confronted with many sociological and psychological problems of adjustment. They have not entirely disintegrated, nor have they been completely assimilated. They are still Indian and want to follow the Indian pattern; their environment, experience, and teaching encourages them to discard it. They are intensely proud of being Comanche, and cherish their cultural heritage. They feel that they were unjustly robbed of their homeland, but know that they must make the best of their situation. The conflict between the old and the new often prevents the acceptance of any regular pattern of conduct and leads to confusion or unusual situations.

The matter of custom is vital to the Comanches. It is difficult to discard tradition. Some old women still wear their blankets, and a few old men continue to paint their faces and to wear their hair in plaits. The tradition of generosity does not fit well in American society for it is an impediment to economic security. Their idea of a pleasant life does not include saving, because saving had no place in their primitive society. The give-away dance has not entirely disappeared, and those who give are the losers and afterwards may seek the aid of the government.

There still exists a strong incentive toward the glorification of the individual. This character trait was a regular feature of the old social system, where the aim of the warrior was to gain glory and where there was constant acknowledgment of his achievements. It led to an immense sensitiveness to praise and censure. The Comanches, as a result, require more praise than the white man to function, and they suffer more than the white man from censure. The attitude was readily apparent in 1945. More than two hun-

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THE COMANCHE RESERVATION IN TEXAS

By Rupert N. Richardson

000 On the Clear Fork of the Brazos, about twenty miles north of Albany, Texas, may be seen the crumbling ruins of Old Camp Cooper, a Federal outpost of the late fifties. One of the buildings has been kept in repair and even yet serves as a residence; the very building which, of course, tradition has fixed as the headquarters of Robert E. Lee when he was in command of that post. The old post is often mentioned by writers of frontier history, but 657 the reason for its location at that point is apt to be forgotten. In May, 1855, the Comanche Indian reservation was established, the agency of which was located about two and one-half miles down the river from the point where the post was located about eight months later. The observer of our own times can find nothing of the remains of this agency but a few foundation stones, some cedar posts or pickets and a depression in the ground which seems to mark the site of an old cellar. However, the Indian home established here is a matter of more than local historical interest for it represented the first efforts of the United States Government to apply the reservation system to nomadic Indians of the plains. 121 The purpose of this paper is to give a review of this experiment and to take some notice of its significance in the frontier history of this region.

657 The reservation system had recently been tried with the Indians in California and was reported to be working successfully.[1] The plan was to confine the Indians within a comparatively small area and give them every advantage possible in the way of schooling and instruction by paid agents and employees of the Government. It was expected that at first the Indian Department would be obliged to sustain them almost wholly but that after a few years they could be made largely self supporting. In adopting this policy to solve the Comanche problem in Texas the United

[113] 1. Lena Clara Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas, 1845-1860," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXIX, 98.
Miss Koch's chapter, entitled "The Reservation System and Its Results," contains much information on both the Comanche and the Brazos reservations. The Brazos reservation was established for the sedentary Indians of Texas about fifty miles to the east.

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657 States Government failed to take into consideration many difficulties peculiar to the Texas Indian situation as well as the inherent characteristics of the plains tribes not found in the Indians of other regions.

Establishing the Reservation

The question of a permanent home for the Indians of Texas was often raised during the decade following annexation; but the problem was difficult to solve, especially since the state maintained that neither the Indians nor the United States had any property rights in the Texas public domain. Under the terms of annexation the state had shifted to the Federal Government the responsibility of managing the Indians but had retained her public lands. Thus, the savages were regarded as tenants at will and in its effort to keep them pacified the United States Indian service had to contend with the steady encroachment of the settlers.

178 511 657 Naturally the misery and poverty of the savages increased from year to year and the problem of restraining them grew proportionately greater. The following words are given as those of Ka-tem-o-see, a Southern Comanche chief:

178 829 [224]

> Over this vast country, where for centuries our ancesters roamed in undisputed possession, free and happy, what have we left? The game, our main dependence, is killed and driven off, and we are forced into the most sterile and barren portions of it to starve. We see nothing but extermination left us, and we await the result with stolid indifference. Give us a country we can call our own, where we may bury our people in quiet.[2]

657 101 657 East of the Comanches, along the valleys of the upper Brazos and Trinity rivers, were Caddo, Anadarko, Kichai, Haini, Tawakoni and other Indians whose condition was quite as desperate as that of the Comanches. Finally after one or more "location" bills had failed, the Legislature of Texas by an act of February 6, 1854, authorized the Federal Government to select not more than twelve leagues of land to be used for Indian reservations.[3] Captain Ran-

[113] 2. Horace Capron, United States Indian Agent in Texas, to Howard, September 30, 1858. Ms., in the University of Texas Library, photostat copies of papers in the United States Indian Office.

[113] 3. H. P. N. Gammel, *Laws of Texas*, III, 1496-1498.

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657 dolph B. Marcy of the United States Army, and Robert S. Neighbors, representing the Indian Department, were appointed to locate and survey the reservations and, after an extensive reconnaissance two tracts, one of four leagues on the Clear Fork of the Brazos and the other of eight leagues on the main Brazos were [131] located. The site of the Clear Fork or Comanche reservation is on the line of Shackelford and Throckmorton counties and that of the Brazos reservation, used by the sedentary tribes, is in Young county.

657 Thus did the Indian Department prepare to confine more 162 than a thousand nomadic savages on a reserve of a little more 000 than eighteen thousand acres. Today this land is the home of a few stock farmers and ranchmen and probably not as many as 657 fifty people live on it. Compared with the vast stretches the Comanches has considered as their home this was indeed a parsimonious grant; but the state contended that the Indian problem should be entirely a Federal burden, the cession was regarded as a gift, and Texas was not in a liberal humor. Yet, since the cardinal idea underlying the reservation system was not simply to feed and care for the Indians but to teach them to become self sustaining, it is strange that the Federal Government undertook the project at such an obvious disadvantage. It was to be expected that a nomadic people would take more interest in stock-raising than in farming; but herds could not be maintained on so small a tract and white men soon came and laid claim to the adjoining range. [134] Furthermore, only a small part of the reservation lands were arable. Naturally the wild Comanches were loathe to accept such a cramped environment.

However, some of the Indians were in such desperate straits that they awaited with eagerness the establishing of the reservation. Chief Ka-tem-e-see went far out into the prairies to meet Marcy and Neighbors on their return from the reconnaissance in order to assure them that his followers were ready and anxious to [578] occupy the home they were expecting. Also, it may be observed in passing, that the chief was not at all reticent in talking Comanche politics and describing the different factions that prevailed among [643] the Penatekas (Honey-eaters), or Southern Comanche bands. But soon Chief Sanaco appeared before the commission to inform them

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that Ka-tem-e-see was an imposter and that he, Sanaco, was the real head of the Comanches.[4] Years of warfare with white men and savages and the struggle for existence incident to this confusion had demoralized the savages and weakened their tribal organization. There was not, in fact, any head chief and there had not been for several years. But these jealousies added substantially to the many difficulties the United States was destined to encounter in its efforts to point these people towards peace and civilization. Pride and independence were virtues these Indians no longer could boast of. Even Ka-tem-e-see begged of the commission corn and meat from their private stock of goods.

When Agent Neighbors returned in November, 1854, to establish the reservation, he found on the Clear Fork large parties of Wacoes, Caddoes, Tawakonies and other smaller bands together with "the whole Southern band" of Comanches, the number of the latter being, according to his estimate, between one thousand and twelve hundred souls. Another council was held and the Indians urged that the Government hurry the preparations for the reservation since they were in a starving condition.[5] But notwithstanding the general eagerness on the part of the Indians about two-thirds of them were not located on the reservation at the time and perhaps half of them never accepted life there because of an unfortunate circumstance which must be charged largely to a blunder of the United States military forces. While some of chief Sanaco's people were at Fort Chadburne, about sixty miles to the southwest, on a friendly trading expedition, they were told by a certain Leyendecker, an Indian trader, that the white people were making plans to attack them and kill them all. "If you want anything more," said Leyendecker to the Indians, "trade quickly, mount your horses, go to Sanaco's camp, and tell him the white people are collecting together to kill him and his people, I see it on this paper; tell him if he wishes to live to go north as quickly as possible—do not eat, sleep or rest, until you give him this talk from his friend."[6]

4. R. B. Marcy, Thirty Years of Army Life On the Border, (New York, 1866) p. 204. See also W. B. Parker, Notes Taken Through Unexplored Texas, 1854 (Philadelphia, 1856) p. 180.

5. Neighbors to Manypenny, Commissioner of Indians Affairs, January 8, 1855. Ms. University of Texas, photostat copy.

6. Hill to Neighbors, August 31, 1855, gives an account of these happenings of January preceding. Thirty-fourth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 1, Part 1, 862.

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648 On the very day that the chief received this message he had been out with an army officer and a citizen in an effort to help them locate some horses which the Indians were accused of stealing. Whatever may have been his sins of the past the chief was then trying to preserve peace and control his people. But when this message came the Indian did not wait to investigate. The savage in him asserted itself. The information had come from a friend and, the fact is, it contained a great measure of truth! Orders for such a campaign had actually been received at Fort Chadburne and a few weeks later the expedition left under the command of Captain Calhoun. The orders called for a campaign against all Comanches, Northern and Southern alike, wherever they might be found. It is true that the officer did not propose actually to go on the reservation and attack the Indians there, but all Comanches met with outside of that vicinity were to be chastised.[7] The whole affair illustrates perfectly the lamentable lack of cooperation between the military and Indian forces so often in evidence along the frontier. It was unfortunate indeed that of all the times the army might have sent an expedition to punish the savages they chose to go at this critical time. News on the frontier was carried with the swiftness of a breeze and this report set the Indians wild. Sanaco fled with several hundred of his people and the sensible Ka-tem-e-see found it difficult to hold his own followers and prevent their joining in the stampede.

As soon as a measure of quiet was restored runners were sent to induce the renegades to return; but the band had scattered and only a few of these Comanches were ever reached and persuaded 657 to return. Because of this confusion the Comanches were first located on the Brazos reservation, but they were taken to their home on the Clear Fork about the first of May, 1855. By June 10, they numbered 249 with others reported to be coming in.[8]

Rivalry of the Chiefs; the Wild Bands

Thus the Comanche reservation was inaugurated by a stam-

[113] 7. Hill to Neighbors, January 11, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. The affair produced quite a stir between the army officers and the Indian agents. The army men never did deny the broad scope of the order they were to act under, but they did contend that the troops were not the cause of the run-away since the Indians fled long before the troops arrived in their vicinity.

[113] 8. Neighbors to Manypenny, June 10, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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pede. If Neighbor's estimate of a thousand or twelve hundred souls be accepted as the approximate population of the Southern Comanches, it is evident that not more than a fourth of these Indians were at the reservation when it was established. The two most influential chiefs, Buffalo Hump, a chronic disturber, and Sanaco, destined to become quite as great a rogue, were still at large. Other Indians came in at different times, so that on one occasion there were 557 souls; but 350 or 400 would represent a fair average for the whole period.[9] Evidently many Indians came and left very much at will, in spite of the efforts of the agents to hold them.

It would have been much better if the renegades had stayed away altogether, for their chiefs were jealous of Ka-tem-e-see and frequently connived to supersede him. During the winter of 1855-1856, Sanaco came in, gave up some horses his people had stolen in the country west of San Antonio, and returned to the prairies to bring in his band. He brought in his people according to promise, but soon left because as he alleged, troops were arriving at Camp Cooper and he felt that this would mean that his braves could get whiskey. However, he must have known that his men could get whiskey while running at large even more easily than at the reservation. A more plausible reason for his leaving is that given by the agent, John R. Baylor, namely, that he found he could not supersede his rival, Ka-tem-e-see. His band became even more lawless and was charged with a number of robberies and murders. Once, in jocular mood, the chief sent word by an Indian runner that he would bring his people in if Major Neighbors would furnish him and his people with all the whiskey they could drink. And they would stay, he said, as long as the whiskey lasted!

Buffalo Hump was even more troublesome than Sanaco. He would come in and make many promises stating that he had reformed and was determined to live the life of a good, honest Indian henceforth. But, if the spirit was willing the flesh was weak in the case of Buffalo Hump; and as soon as the agent had made him presents in consideration for his profession of good intentions he would steal away to the prairies to plunder and rob and live

9. The different reports of the agents show numbers as follows: January 1, 1856, 440; September 8, 1856, 557; September, 1857, 424; January 17, 1858, 381; September 16, 1859, 371; October 20, 1858, 341; July, 1859, 333.

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657 in his old savage way. Then, when his blankets were worn out
648 and game became scarce and stealing unprofitable he would return to repeat the process.[10] On one occasion this chief almost
648 started a war between the Comanches and the Indians on the Brazos reservation. With Ka-tem-e-see and about seventy-five warriors he went to that reservation and approached the Anadarko village in a threatening manner. The women and children of this and neighboring villages fled and panic seized the entire Indian community. Fortunately the veteran Anadarko chief, Jose Maria, was looking for trouble, had his men armed and prepared for action and informed the intruders that he was ready either for "fight" or "talk." The Comanches chose to talk and through the efforts of the Brazos agent, S. P. Ross, and his interpreter, Jim Shaw, violence was avoided. When called upon to explain their extraordinary conduct, the Comanches, evidently much embarrassed at the turn the affair had taken, said that all was well, they were satisfied, but they wished to ask just one question: "Were the Caddoes going to continue to act as guides for the troops?"

This question explains the whole affair. No doubt Buffalo Hump, using the milder Ka-tem-e-see as a tool, had hoped to frighten the smaller bands into discontinuing the valuable aid they had been rendering the troops as scouts and guides. It may be that Buffalo Hump himself had suffered because of the skill and faithfulness of these scouts. It is certain that in the years that followed the wiley old renegade was much annoyed by these scouts for as a leader of the wild Comanche bands he was often
657 trailed and surprised by these very Indians. Although these Co-
648 manches were wards of the Government and living off of its bounty
186 their sympathy for their wild marauding kinsmen was stronger than that for any agent or soldier and they resented the fact that these more civilized Indians were taking such an active part in the interest of law and order.

657 In addition to these run-away Southern Comanches other
648 wild Indians made the work of the agents difficult and caused the
628 life of the reservation Indians to be haunted by many fears. The
101 were several distinct Comanche bands that had never had any inti-

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10. See Anna Heloise Abel, The American Indian as Slaveholder and Secessionist, page 315, for a letter from M. Leeper, once Comanche agent in Texas, to Elias Rector, December 12, 1861. In this letter Leeper gives a short biography of Buffalo Hump and pronounces an anathema to his memory.

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mate relations with the Penatekas or Southern bands. Along Red River and the Canadian were the Tanimas, Nokonies and Kotsotekas, to the north were the Yamarikas and in the plains region were the fierce Kwaharies. Associated with these northern bands were the Kiowas, fierce and powerful. Parties from these different bands frequently visited the reservation, coming as friends or lurking near as enemies as best suited their purposes. Naturally the going and coming of these wild kinsmen and their occasional presence at or near the reservation made it very difficult for the agents to control their wards. Furthermore, in their raids against the Texas settlements and the North Mexican states these parties often passed near the reservation. This, according to Agent Leeper, was done both to steal additional horses from the reserve Indians and to direct the attention of the pursuers to those Indians in order that they might be charged to the innocent while the guilty made their escape. Indeed the Indians of the reservation frquently suffered severe losses of horses at the hands of these marauders.[11] During the last years of the reservation there developed an estrangement between its inhabitants and their wild kinsmen and at times the wards felt that their lives were insecure, although the agency was near by and the military post but two miles away. In May, 1858, Ka-tem-e-see took his boys out of school in order to keep them near him and better protect them from the wrath of the marauders of the north. By this time the chief had lost his enthusiasm for the wild Indians and on one occasion said that he did not care if the troops killed them all.[12]

On at least one occasion a lawless visitor came near causing a general revolt. One Santa Anna, a notoriously bad Indian, came and put up in Ka-tem-e-see's cabin. Since this was the only cabin on the reservation perhaps the insolent fellow felt that lodging accommodations were poor enough and he proposed to take the best. It was even rumored that he planned to supersede Ka-tem-e-see and make himself chief of the reservation. The chief ordered this Indian and his companion, a Nokoni Comanche, to leave; but they informed him that they were resting from their arduous journey and did not propose to leave until it suited their conven-

11. Leeper's Report, December 31, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

12. J. Shirley, employee at Barnard's trading house at the reservation, to C. E. Barnard, May 6, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, February 5, 1858, Ibid.

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[65] [609] ience. When this was reported to Agent Leeper he called on the detail of troops stationed at Camp Cooper (only twenty men) to come at once. The lieutenant, Van Camp, came at once and surrounded the building. But to his chagrin and alarm, fifty or sixty warriors, armed with bows and guns, together with about thirty women and boys, armed with sticks and clubs, closed in around the cabin and took the side of the visitors so positively that Van Camp saw that a fight was ahead if he forced the issue. He ordered his men to prepare for action and a battle would have followed but for the fact that he discovered that his men had but one round of ammunition. They had used up nearly all their ammunition the day before in target practice. Thus, since it was impossible to apply force, all that was left for the lieutenant to do was to use persuasion. An agreement was patched up whereby the intruders were permitted to leave and this they did at once.

On the following day the Indians who had taken an active part in protecting the visitors came to Leeper and explained that they had offered resistance to the troops because they thought when they saw the soldiers approaching that all Indians on the reservation were going to be attacked and slain and they were determined to die fighting. Obviously they thought no such thing. Their bad faith in the whole matter was made more in evidence by their telling Leeper that they expected him to say that their "talk" was "good." In case he should not assent and say that their "talk" was "good" they would kill him and his family and leave the reservation.[13]

[609] Naturally the army officers and the Indian agents as well were sorely vexed with the Indians because of this affair. About all that can be said in defense of the savages is that they regarded the intruders as visitors and felt that to abandon them to the soldiers while they were guests at the reservation would be treachery. Some of the older men and women tearfully begged Ka-tem-e-see not to force the issue, just let the man escape and he would not bother them any more.

Inadequate Protection

The lack of proper protection by the troops was largely the

[113] 13. Leeper to Neighbors, August 31, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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cause of the fear and uncertainty that clouded the lives of the reservation wards. During most of the year 1855 there were no troops closer than Fort Belknap, about fifty miles away, and none but infantry there. However, early in January, 1856, Camp Cooper was established on the reservation and for a time the Indians enjoyed a sense of security.[14] But after a few months, ill feeling developed between the army officers and the Indian agents, each side charging that the other would not cooperate. Both the army and the Indian records are well supplied with documents containing charges, denials and counter charges, but it would not be expedient or profitable to follow the quarrel in detail. No doubt the agents were prone to do much complaining and fault finding while the army men responded with a patronizing attitude and cynical remarks about the "beef eating" policy of the Indian department. Once Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper took it upon himself to count the Indians or to attempt to count them and, according to the agent, almost caused a panic by proceeding without the assent and knowledge of the agents. The Indians were ever shy in the presence of soldiers and army officers. Naturally Leeper and Nighbors regarded Stoneman's conduct as an insult for it implied that their reports were nct correct and that supplies were being fraudently drawn. Most of the army officers naturally sided with their fellow officer and the breach widened.[15]

In the spring of 1858, the army forces decided to remove Camp Cooper from its old location near the agency and Indian camps to a point some six or eight miles away from the agency. Leeper intimated that this was for the purpose of locating the post near a ranch owned by Captain Givens of the Second Dragoons.[16] However, it seems more plausible to conclude that the change was made as an act of spite and in retaliation against the charges made by the agents that the soldiers were not properly disciplined and were spending too much time among the Indians. When the agent protested at this move, complaining that he and his wards were left in a defenseless condition, the department commander of the

14. Baylor's report, September 12, 1854, Thirty-fourth Congress, Third Session, House Exec. Doc. No. 1, 722. See also, George F. Price, Across the Continent with the Fifth Cavalry, (New York, 1883), p. 4.

15. George Stoneman, Captain Second Cavalry, Camp Cooper, to Neighbors, September 5, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Leeper to Neighbors, December 8, 1857, Ibid.

16. Leeper to Neighbors, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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army advised him that if he felt insecure he could move the agency to a point nearer the new site. Thus for a while no troops were stationed nearer than eight miles from the agency. Now, when the troops moved out of Old Camp Cooper the Indians moved in and stored their grain and hay there. But soon a detachment of troops was ordered back to the old post and the Indians had to move out.[17] It seems that thereafter some troops were stationed continuously at the old post, but later the agent complained that the force consisted of but fifteen or twenty men—not enough to be of much aid in an emergency. During the crisis in June, 1859, when the frontier citizens were threatening to attack the reservation, an adequate cavalry force was stationed there and maintained until the Indians were removed.[18] However, it must be said that during much of the four years of the reservation's history the United States Army did not give the protection which even its limited means might have permitted.

Problems of the Agents

The vexations incident to controlling, teaching and starting on the road towards a civilized existence several hundred nomadic savages just taken from the prairies and confined to a reservation of a few square miles were too numerous to be adequately described. Sometimes the conduct and practices of the savages were enough to have exhausted the patience of a saint and that they were dealt with so successfully is a credit to the white men in charge.

Savage lawlessness and lack of self restraint naturally provoked clashes between individuals of a tribe where freedom of action had so recently been limited by this new environment. In a fit of anger one of the head men stabbed his wife and her brothers vowed to avenge her wrong. The husband's friends came to his side and a general fight seemed dangerously near. But, much to the surprise and relief of the agent, the guilty Indian came to him in a penitent mood and offered to receive any punishment that might be imposed. The agent left the matter to the other chiefs and quite naturally nothing was done. The woman recovered and her brothers apparently became reconciled.[19]

17. T. T. Hawkins, special agent to investigate conditions on the reservation, to Charles E. Mix, October 20, 1855. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.
18. Neighbors to Greenwood, June 10, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.
19. Baylor to Neighbors, June 8, 1856. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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164 The health of the Indians was not always good. Venereal
657 diseases were virulent and common and there was not sufficient medicines and doctors. Typhoid pneumonia is mentioned among the diseases reported by the doctor who occasionally attended the patients.[20]

241 The reservation farmer had his troubles also. The Indians would turn their horses into the corn field, or turn them loose where it was evident that they would get in the field. They would pull melons no larger than an egg and were want to consume all
241 their corn before it had grown to good roasting-ears. In the spring
657 of the second year they refused for some time to plant their crops until they had been given presents, but finally the agent persuaded them to go to work without the presents.

578 Sometimes there was violence unto death. A chief engaged
684 in intrigue with another man's wife and, according to custom, the injured man demanded that the chief compensate him to the amount of a horse. When the chief refused or hesitated to do this he was
696 slain at once by the sons of the injured man. Then the father and his sons together with their women and children fled from the reservation and were not overtaken, although a scouting party followed them for a hundred and fifty miles.[21]

177 And yet, notwithstanding these evidences of savage crudeness, it must be said that at least some of the Indians were making
177 progress toward a more civilized existence. Under the direction
241 of the reservation farmer they worked and occasionally made fairly
657 good crops, but the amount of land in cultivation was small. In 1857, they made but fifty bushels of wheat off of the twenty acres sown and 500 bushels of corn was produced on the remainder of
[567] their land in cultivation. For awhile the Indians were prone to rely too much on their prisoners to do the work but after these were freed and returned to their people in Mexico that abuse was corrected. In 1858, the reserve farmer reported a better yield. In the spring of that year he had divided the community fields into six divisions in order that each of the prominent clans might have
[231] a parcel of ground suited to its numbers. He thought that they would have made enough grain (principally corn) that year to

[113] 20. J. Shirley, bill for medical services, March 29, 1858. Ms. University of
[113] Texas photostat copy. Neighbors to Manypenny, March 7, 1854. Ibid.
21. Leeper to Neighbors, April 9, 1858, Ibid.

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do them but for the fact that the fear of the white frontiersmen and wild Indians forced them to keep up their horses and feed them much of the time.[22] This partial elimination of the communist system had a wholesome effect, but it would have been impossible to carry it much farther because of the scarcity of arable land. A division of land so that each family head would have had a parcel separate and apart from the others would have become utterly impossible after a generation or two. Thus the cramped conditions on the small reservation would have acted as a barrier to progress even if the Indians had been permitted to remain there.

Many of the citizens of Texas complained that the reservation Indians were treacherous and dangerous and yet some of those persons living near the reserve vouched for the honesty of the Indians and stated that they regarded them as friends rather than enemies.[23] The settlement and development of the country in the vicinity of the reservation indicates that the white people generally had confidence in the peaceful disposition of the savages. It is significance that the most serious complaints did not come from those persons living near the reservation but from settlements a hundred or more miles away.

Some of the children made good progress in school. In 1858, it was reported that ten boys were in school and in a later account they were reported to be learning remarkably fast. Thomas T. Hawkins, special agent, who was sent to investigate the reservation in 1858, wrote of the Comanches:

> I regard them as superior in natural sense and intelligence to any of our full blooded native tribes—and I have seen many specimens in Washington, in the west and upon my journey hither.[24]

At times the Indians manifested some disposition to exercise tribal government sufficient to restrain unruly members. Once when a certain Indian, named Jack Porter, and two or three fol-

22. Neighbor's report. September 16, 1857. Thirty-fifth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 11, Vol. II. Also, Neighbors to Manypenny, May 14, 1854, and H. P. Jones, reservation farmer to M. Leeper, October 29, 1858, University of Texas photostat copies.

23. Thomas Lambshead (a citizen) to Manypenny, May 1, 1854. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Also, Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858, 1854.

24. Hawkins to Mix, October 30, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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626 623 lowers returned from a raid to Mexico with twelve stolen horses, a council of chiefs was called to consider the matter and the culprits were informed that if they repeated the act they would all be shot.[25] However, it must be said that the exercise of authority generally stopped with admonition and an influential warrior had little to fear from a council composed of his fellow warriors. 622 Chief Ka-tem-e-see was given the use of a cabin and was paid thirty [657] dollars per month to act as head chief. From all accounts he took [434] his position quite seriously and worked faithfully to lead his people [166] aright. In one report it is stated that several females had recently deserted the reservation because of punishment he had inflicted upon them. Apparently the braves were dealt with more tactfully.

Breaking Up the Reservation

657 Naturally the people of Texas had expected that the establishment of the reservations whereby the Indians were given the opportunity to maintain a comfortable existence under government supervision would improve frontier Indian conditions. But this 648 hope proved to be in vain. The various bands of Southern Comanches who refused to settle, together with parties of their northern kinsmen and the Lipans and small parties of other tribes continued to harass the settlements to such an extent as to call forth protests from many sources. Conditions not only did not improve but, according to the accounts of that day, grew worse from year to year, especially after 1856.

From the very beginning, and for good reasons, some of the frontier citizens had come to regard the reservations as a source 648 of trouble. It is true that the agents did their best to control their 657 Indians and they certainly never tolerated theft when they could prevent it. However, with Indians coming and going in such promiscous fashion it was utterly impossible for the agents to know just what their wards were doing. Although some of the frontiersmen made allegations to the contrary, there is overwhelming evidence to the effect that ranchmen who came to hunt their lost or stolen stock were extended every aid and courtesy by the agents and Ka-tem-e-see. They rarely ever found their property there,

[113] 25. Neighbor's report, September 16, 1858, Thirty-fifth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 1, Vol. I, p. 344.

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but when they did it was readily given up.[26] But no agent, however tactful, could long avoid a clash with the frontiersmen on this point. They naturally gave little consideration to the rights of the Indians, expected the word of any white man to be accepted over the denial of any number of Indians, and misunderstandings and disputes over property soon arose. The agents all the while stoutly maintained that their Indians were innocent and, although we may have some doubts to their contentions, they were certainly sincere. Likewise the frontiersmen were just as sincere in laying much of their trouble to the wards of the agents and as affairs progressed each side became more determined and emphatic. When the citizens failed to find their stock at the reservation they concluded that the marauders had left the reservation, had stolen the horses from the settlements, and then had made their way to join their wild friends to the north; and the large number of desertions from the reservation evidenced by the census returns furnish considerable foundation for this point of view.

During the latter part of 1857, petitions signed by Texas citizens were sent to the Secretary of the Interior asking that Neighbors be removed from office. These persons alleged that the reserve Indians had been stealing horses all along although Neighbors kept denying it. They charged that at different times they had found their stolen horses on the reservation, that the superintendent had refused to give them up and that there was no means left for them whereby they could secure their property. Other complaints were made, one being that signed by twenty-seven men addressed to Agent Leeper informing him that they would not henceforth honor his passports to Indians but that they proposed to attack any and all Indians found off of the reservation except where they were accompanied by responsible white persons. Their reasons for this threat appears to have been the report they had received that certain Indians whom they had pursued had since made threats against them. Furthermore, they would have Leeper inform the Indians that if there should be "a man killed on this river and there is the least proof that it was done by the Indians from the reserve

26. On this mooted point see J. B. (Buck) Barry to Hawkins, November 9, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. Barry, who in his Reminiscences (Manuscript, University of Texas Archives), bitterly assails the reservation Indians, said in this letter of 1858, that Major Neighbors treated him in a "clever and gentlemanly manner" in the matter of his efforts to recover stolen horses.

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657 ... We will attack the reserve with a sufficient force to *break it up*
648 regardless of consequences.[27]

657 In January, 1858, a select committee of the state senate criticized severely the United States Indian policy in the state, referring to the fact that only a fraction of the Comanche Indians were located on the reservation and that friendly Indians were in the habit of passing and repassing into the settlements. Thus, they contended, wild Indians were mistaken for friendly ones and the white people were thus placed at the mercy of marauding bands. In addition to their recommendations for better military protection the committee stated that the agents should not permit the Indians to leave the reservations.[28]

[648] If these charges should be accepted at their face value they would represent within themselves rather convincing proof against the reservation Indians, but the records show that the whole issue was so completely shot through with bias and personal animosity that one is unable to know what to accept or reject. Reference has already been made to the ill feeling that pervailed between Robert S. Neighbors, the Superintendent of Indian Affairs in Texas, and some of the army officers. Furthermore, John R. Baylor, who seems to have been dismissed from the Indian service through Neighbor's influence, led in much of the agitation.

657 But regardless of the merits or injustice of the charges brought
648 against the reservation Indians feeling against them became so widespread and bitter that in February, 1858, Neighbors asked that special instructions be given the military to protect the reserve Indians from attacks by citizens. In May he made a trip to Washington to place the matter before the officials there, alleging that the soldiers could not be depended upon to protect the Indians because of the indifference of their officers.[29] In October, the sheriff of Young county, armed with a writ issued by the county court, set forth from Belknap with a posse of about forty citizens to arrest

[113] 27. W. G. Preston and others to M. Leeper, February 1, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy. John R. Baylor, Comanche agent until he was dismissed in May, 1857, is among the signers of this letter to Leeper.

[113] 28. "Report of Select Committee on Indian Affairs," State Gazette, Austin, March 27, 1858. George R. Erath, Henry E. McCulloch, Forbes Brittin, J. W. Throckmorton, and E. H. Searborough composed the committee.

[113] 29. Neighbors to Mix, written at Washington, D. C., May 18, 1858. Neighbors complained that Major Paul, at Fort Belknap, Captain Stoneman at Camp Cooper, and Captain Givens, who owned a ranch about six miles from the reservation, had opposed him all along and had tried to incite the citizens against the Indians.

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657 a reservation Indian charged with committing an attack on a young
648 man named Johnson some months before. On hearing of the approach of the party Neighbors called on Captain Palmer at Camp Cooper for an escort, advanced with the escort and met the sheriff's party some distance from the reservation and finally persuaded the party to give up their purpose. Whether the sheriff desisted because of the law in the case or by fear of the United States soldiers was a matter of doubt in the minds of observers.[30]

657 The complaints against the agents and the reservation Indians led to the sending of a special agent to investigate the administration of affairs. This agent, Thomas T. Hawkins, stayed at Camp Cooper for five weeks and every opportunity was given the complaintants to make their appearance and testify as to their charges; but few of them did so and nothing of consequence was submitted. Hawkins' report commended the agents and the administration of both reservations very highly. The critics alleged that the investigation was *ex parte* and that it was intended from the beginning to "whitewash" the record of the Indian administration in Texas; but we should have more sympathy with them if they had gone through with their part of the program and submitted whatever evidence they had.

Perhaps the strongest testimony in favor of the Comanches is
657 that of John S. Ford and E. N. Burleson of the Ranger forces. They
648 came with their command to the vicinity of the reservation in the spring of 1858 when they and their officers were practically unanimous in the belief that the reservation Indians were committing depredations. These men were seasoned frontiersmen, had the frontiersmen's natural hatred and distrust of all Indians and were determined to secure evidence against the savages that could not be refuted. However, although they stayed for some time and sent out many scouts they found nothing whatever to confirm their suspicions. Ford states in his affidavit that when they found that
657 they could not secure any evidence against the Indians Captain Allison Nelson, one of the foremost critics of Neighbors, suggested to him that it would be very easy to make a trail leading into the reservation, but Ford would not hear to this. Nelson reported that the people in the vicinity of the reservation did not want it broken up and it was decided to abandon the idea. Ford quoted Nelson as

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30. See the letter of a correspondent to the New York Herald, November 15, 1858.

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657 stating that Neighbors had always escaped from the attacks of his enemies, but that men were after him "now" who were going to get his job.[31]

648 657 Naturally so much excitement and ill will inspired cruelty. In May, 1858, an inoffensive old Comanche was slain by a party of white men who wanted to get his horses and took advantage of the fact that he was away from the reservation without an escort or pass.[32] Late in December, a little party of friendly Indians from the Brazos reservation, known as Choctaw Tom's party, were attacked in their camp at night near Palo Pinto, whither they had gone by the consent of their agent and where they were regarded by the people of the immediate community as friendly and dependable. In fact, Choctaw Tom, the leader of the party, had returned to the reservation, but some of his people had remained near Palo Pinto in order to accept an invitation of some citizens of the community to stay a little longer and hunt bear with them.[33] The party that attacked the Indians was composed of citizens of Erath and neighboring counties further down the Brazos valley. They alleged that these Indians had been committing depredations but there is very little foundation for this contention.

The killing of these Indians created general excitement along the frontier because of the fear that their tribesmen would retaliate. The men who made the unwarranted attack on Choctaw Tom's party were never arrested although the governor by special proclamation called for their arrest. The grand jury of Palo Pinto county refused to indict the men but instead, indicted Jose Maria, the Anadarko chief, for horse stealing and in their report stated that the reservations were nuisances and that the people ought to take up arms against the Indians.[34] "Gatherings" of frontiersmen began to take place and many white men who had up to this time maintained a neutral or indifferent attitude began to join in the clamor against the savages. No doubt many of these men felt that the party from

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[113] 31. Affidavit of John S. Ford and E. M. Burleson, November 22, 1858. University of Texas photostat copy.

[113] 32. Shirley to Barnard, May 6, 1858; Evans to Looper, May 2, 1858. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

[113] 33. J. J. Sturm, farmer at the Brazos agency, to Ross, December 28, 1858. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, Vol. I, p. 688. See also, the statement of Daniel Thornton, Peter Garland and others who attacked the Indians, made at Palo Pinto, January 4, 1859, ibid, p. 694.

[113] 34. A copy of the report of the Grand Jury may be found in the Runnels Papers, Texas State Archives.

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Erath county had made a mistake in attacking the peaceful Indians, but they believed that the kinsmen of these Indians as well as the Comanches would retaliate and that there could be no peace on the frontier until both reservations were broken up. The agitators took advantage of this state of mind and never lost an opportunity to appeal to the fears and prejudices of the frontier people. It must not be understood that these men were "the very worst frontier characters" as the Indians agents sometimes charged. Among their leaders were John R. Baylor, former Indian agent; Peter Garland, of Erath county; R. W. Pollard, of Palo Pinto county; J. B. (Buck) Barry, of Bosque county, all prominent citizens in their communities and highly regarded by most of their neighbors. The years of bitter struggle with the Indians had hardened the hearts of the frontier people. As one of the more conservative of them has written in his memoirs, the frontier people were "always crazed at the sight of Indians and determined to kill,"[35] and when the safety of their families was involved they were wont to act first and investigate afterwards.

However, notwithstanding these "gatherings" of frontiersmen with all their fear and frenzy no drastic action was taken during the winter of 1858-1859, which is to be accounted for in part, at least, by the firm attitude maintained by the army officers who were guarding the reservations. The immediate objective of these threatening movements had been the "lower" or Brazos reservation. This was not because the white men regarded these Indians as the more culpable but rather because they felt that both the Brazos and Comanche reservations must be broken up and the Brazos Indians being the more numerous and powerful were regarded as the chief obstacle to be overcome.

Long before this crisis came the agents had felt that the Indians should be moved from Texas and as early as the summer of 1857 Neighbors had recommended that they be taken to the Indian Territory.[36] But the authorities in Washington did not give any consideration to the proposal and it was dropped for the time. Then came the demonstrations against the Indians during the winter and spring of 1859, and Neighbors again insisted that if the Indians

35. "Memoirs of George B. Erath," in the Southwestern Historical Quarterly, XXVII, 18.
36. Neighbors to Mix, August 8, 1857. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 were not removed they would be driven away by the mad settlers. The government at Washington was slow to appreciate the gravity of the situation and the agents became frantic in their effort to secure authority to do what they knew was essential to save their wards from destruction. Finally, on March 30, the Commissioner of Indian Affairs wrote that the Indians would be moved in the fall or winter following. But this announcement did not satisfy the white people and Neighbors continued his efforts to secure authority to remove his wards at once.[37] Neighbors said that he and his associates had "stood their ground" so far, but that they wanted their superiors to share with them the responsibility for determining what should be done when the next crisis came, as it certainly would come. A little later came a resolution signed by a hundred and fifty men demanding that Neighbors and the resident agents, Ross and Leeper, resign.[38]

648 The situation was already critical enough when an army officer by an imprudent act provoked a disturbance that removed the last ray of hope for peace on the frontier until the Indians were removed. A Brazos reservation Indian named Fox, had been killed by a party of Jack county rangers in brutal fashion. This officer led a party of reservation Indians in search of Fox's slayers and caused great consternation by escorting them into the town of Jacksboro one night. This incident gave the radical party an excellent torch and they now set the whole frontier aflame with excitement.[39] The citizens at once organized themselves into "ranger companies" and surrounded both reservations, threatening the Indians and their agents day and night and preventing the savages from gathering up 000 their stock.[40] On May 23, John R. Baylor at the head of about 250 men came onto the Brazos reservation; but the soldiers stood their ground and the citizens withdrew, not however, until they had picked a fight with some of the Indians. The Indians pursued them for some distance and considerable fighting took place.[41] 648 The settlers declared that they would raise a thousand men and take

113 37. Mix to Neighbors, March 30, 1859. Thirtieth Congress, First Session, Sen. Doc. No. 2, p. 691. Neighbors to Mix, April 11, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

113 38. "Resolutions," April 25, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

113 39. J. R. Worrall of Jacksboro, June 1, 1859, to the Editor, The Dallas Herald, June 15, 1859.

113 40. Neighbors to Mix, May 12, 1859, and Ross to Neighbors, May 12, 1859. Ms. University of Texas photostat copies.

113 41. Report of Captain J. B. Plummer, of the United States Army. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 644.

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both reservations by storm. But sufficient forces were not forthcoming and the "Army of Defense," as the frontiersmen had called themselves, disbanded for a time. Their fury was allayed somewhat by the act of the governor in appointing a board of commissioners to visit the camp of the citizens and endeavor to work out a peaceful method of attaining their ends. The commission visited the frontier communities, heard the complaints of the angry citizens and in their report of findings quite naturally declared the Indians guilty of the offenses charged.[42] But Baylor and other frontier leaders kept up the agitation and, in order to prevent another gathering, G. B. Erath, one of the governor's commissioners, called out a special force of one hundred militiamen from McLellan and Bell counties in order to assure the citizens that the Indians were being watched.[43] However, from all accounts it seems that the frontiersmen did not propose to leave to others the matter of watching the Indians and during the last few weeks preceding the removal the Indians of both reservations were harassed on every hand and dared not leave their agencies to gather up their animals, many of which were out on the range. On one occasion a fight occurred near the Comanche reservation in which both the Indians and citizens suffered some injuries.

Authority for the immediate removal of the Indians was finally granted on June 11 and on July 31, the Indians from both reservations, escorted by United States soldiers started on their journey to the valley of the Washita in Indian Territory.

The census made at the time the journey was begun showed that 1112 Indians left the Brazos reservation and 384 Comanches left the upper reservation. It was estimated that the Comanches took away with them live stock worth $9,550, and that they lost, or were forced to leave behind, live stock worth in the aggregate of $14,922.50.[44] The cost of both reservations to the United States Government had ranged between $61,655.25, for 1857, and

42. Report of John Henry Brown, G. B. Erath, J. M. Steiner, J. M. Smith and Richard Coke, to Governor Runnels, Waco, June 27, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, Second Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, pp. 668-671.

43. Erath to Ross and Neighbors, June 20, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 663.

44. Neighbors' Memorandum, no date. Ms. University of Texas photostat copy.

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657 $91,707.50, for 1856.[45] Probably about one-third of these sums were expended on the Comanches. During the last year preceding the establishment of the reservations the United States had spent $129,820 on the Texas Indians.

000 A sequel to the bitter controversy over the removal of the Indians was the killing of Robert S. Neighbors on the streets of Belknap by a man he scarcely knew, if, indeed he had ever seen him
657 before or knew the man had aught against him. Neighbors had seen the Indians safely located in the Leased District in Indian Territory, had turned them over to their agent there, and was returning
000 home to make his final report to the Indian Office. He stopped at Belknap on matters of business and was killed as he was preparing to proceed on his way to his home in San Antonio.[46]

657 Perhaps in their zeal to protect their wards from the wrath of the white people Neighbors and his associates were blind to the faults of the savages but their courage and devotion to duty in protecting the Indians against what they regarded as the prejudice and avarice of the white men is one of the finest examples of public service to be found in the annals of the American frontier. They were confronted with great odds with their former friends and neighbors aligned against them. At times they had to fight almost single handed, but they stood at their post and were never lacking in either physical or moral courage.

Thus ended the Texas reservation experiment. It may well be doubted that even without the hostile attitude of the white frontiersmen the Comanche reservation could have been made successful. Many of the Southern Comanches never did live on the reserve and
657 of those who came there large numbers refused to remain. The ex-
171 perience of the agents was prophetic of the difficulties the Federal Government was destined to have two decades later when the plan was tried for all the nomadic tribes of the plains under circumstances far more favorable. As long as vast stretches of uninhabited prairies and herds of fat deer, antelope and buffaloes invited them

45. Clara Lena Koch, "The Federal Indian Policy In Texas," in the Quarterly, XXIX, 116.

[113] 46. Leeper to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, September 15, 1859. Thirty-sixth Congress, First Session, Sen. Exec. Doc. No. 2, p. 761. On their return from Indian Territory, Neighbors and Leeper, who were traveling together, were attacked by wild Indians and Leeper was seriously wounded.

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171 the savages were loathe to accept the monotonous life of farming on the reservation. The old and decrepit might gladly stay but the spirited young warriors would hie away taking with them when they could their families and friends. But the record made by these reservation Comanches proved that the nomadic tribes were amenable to progress and the equals intellectually of their more sedate kinsmen of the progressive agricultural tribes.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

101 619 621 [177] The final territory they held was northcentral Texas. Early references by Anglo-Americans concerning the Comanches pertain mainly to these people. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:25) mention that they lived near the white settlements and associated more with the Caddos, Wichitas, and whites in historic times than with their western and northern kinsmen. Both their tradition and that of the northern Comanche bands tell how the two lost contact for a long period of time. It was only with the northern Comanches' raids into Mexico that the two groups finally reestablished ties.

619 621 657 177 101 The *pɐnatsɔ* were put on reservations in Texas in 1854, while the majority of Comanches continued to raid freely throughout Texas. The reservation experiment failed, largely because of pressure from the white citizenry, and was ended in 1858. By this time the power of the Honey Eaters was minimal and, because of their proximity to the Texas settlements, they were made to suffer for many of the crimes perpetrated by the "wild" western and northern Comanches.

619 621 101 The *nɔkoni*, "Those Who Move Often," was the major band representing the middle Comanches. The center of their range was the Pease River region of Texas. The *tanima*, "Liver Eaters," and *kutsuɛka*, "Buffalo Eaters," composed the remaining middle Comanche bands, sharing the range of the *nɔkoni*.

The *kwahada*, "Antelope" band, is the representative of the western Comanches. They probably drifted south at approximately the same time as the *yapai* band and later moved onto the staked Plains. In late historic times the *kwahada* band was the most warlike of the Comanches and the last band to surrender to the United States Army.

The *yapai*, or *Yamparika*, "Yap Eaters," occupied the northernmost reaches of the Comanche country. The *yapai* was probably the last band to break from the Shoshonean traditions. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:27) write that the Fort Hall Shoshone of Idaho call all Comanches *Yamparika*. During the late nineteenth century they were situated from the south side of the Arkansas River to the Canadian River.

Acculturation and Schism

657 621 69 The reservation and postreservation period wrought great changes in the function and composition of the Comanche bands. Matters of protection, subsistence, and territory were taken from the control of the Comanches and brought under the power of various agencies of, or appointed by, the federal government. It was only with the land allotments of the Jerome Act in 1901 and 1905 that the members of the various bands were able to assert their band identity once again in real estate. Today, in Comanche, Cotton, and Caddo counties, the ancient geo-
101 619 621 graphic distribution of the four major bands is stated in miniature. The *yapai* are still the northernmost band, centered in the area delimited by the Oklahoma communities of Medicine Park, Meers, Elgin, Fletcher, Cyril, Apache, and Bonne. The *nɔkoni* are located south of the *yapai* and north of Lawton, Oklahoma. The greatest density of *kwahada* population is in western Comanche County in the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

towns of Cache, Snyder, and Indiahoma. The *penatɜka* continue to be the southernmost of the Comanche bands, centered in the vicinity of Walters, Oklahoma.

Perhaps the most ubiquitous and pervasive problems which have confronted the Comanche in the twentieth century are those directly associated with the process of acculturation with the dominant white culture. The traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal schism which has appeared as a disruptive force in contemporary Comanche society very closely follows band boundaries. As might be expected, the southern band, the *penatɜka*, a people with a relatively long history of white contact experience, have been more successful in their transition into the twentieth century than have the *yapai* Comanches, the band with the least amount of contact experience. At present the *penatɜka* are the progressive and liberal Comanches, while the *yapai* stand as the rallying point for all traditionally oriented and conservative Comanches. The *yapai* are joined in the traditionalist camp by the *kwahada* and the *nɜkoni*. This major division is thought of by the Comanches as a division between the northern "tribes" and the southern "tribes."

Most contemporary northern Comanches do not use the term *penatɜka* for the southern people; rather they call them *hɜnitaiβo*, which means "eat corn like a white man," or, more literally, "corn white men." They are often referred to in English as "Freckles," alluding to the great degree of mixed-blood Comanches who, the northerners believe, fill the southerner's ranks. The southern Comanches are less colorful than the northerners in their invectives, simply stating that the northerners are, for the most part, uneducated, drunken, shiftless, and generally responsible for the poor reputation which the Comanches possess in many of the white communities in southern Oklahoma.

Historical indications of the basis for the present-day dichotomy of Comanche society are suggested by Richardson in *The Comanche Barrier to South Plains Settlement* (1933). Perhaps the most significant single factor responsible for the subsequent divisiveness of the northern and southern Comanche bands is the geographic distance which separated them well into historic times. At the peak of Comanche territorial expansion, as many as 600 miles could have separated the northern bands, ranging in southern Colorado and southwestern Kansas, from southern bands, inhabiting northcentral Texas.

The Kiowa and northern Comanches made a treaty in 1790 which did not include the southern Comanche bands. This treaty was never broken. During the Texas Revolution the southern bands refrained from taking advantage of the chaos in Texas to raid and plunder, while the northern Comanches and their Kiowa allies joined to make one of the most destructive Indian raids in Texas history. After the Mexican defeat in 1837 the Cherokee chief, Bowl, was commissioned to visit the various Comanche bands to seek peace. The southerners were cooperative and friendly; the northerners, however, were insulting and hostile. In the 1850s when the southern bands were put on reservations in Texas, the northern bands continued their raiding activities with the Kiowas. During this time agent officials complained of the demoralizing effects which the northern Comanches had on the southern reservation wards. Further, members of the

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southern (Wasps or Quick Stingers) band joined the United States Army in its war against the "wild" northern Comanche bands. This bit of "Freckle" treachery is still perpetuated in the war stories told by the northerners.

The most obvious contemporary example of the ancient roots of this Comanche factionalism concerns the Kiowa-Comanche-Apache constitution established as a result of the Medicine Lodge Treaty of 1867. The southerners favor a separate Comanche constitution, while the northerners view this as an attempt to break the long-standing alliance between the northern Comanches and the Kiowas. Sanapia's statement on this subject is typical of the northerner's sentiment.

> Here, up to today, those Walter's people are trying to break us up. How could they do that? I got grandchildren that's Kiowa, and the Comanches are all mixed in with them Kiowas. We all together . . . got to stay that way. Those southern people aren't like us. All their old people are Mexicans. Well, they Comanches, same as us, but they act like white people. We've been with these Kiowas and Apaches for a long time, and we can't break it up.

Of course, this traditional–progressive and conservative–liberal differentiation suggests but the grossest divisions in Comanche society. There is also the Christian–peyotist factionalism, for example; however, like the other minor factional elements, it is subsumed under the greater northern–southern Comanche divisions. The northern people consider themselves peyotist and look with scorn on the southerner's predilection for Christianity—the white man's religion. The southerners consider the northerners' religious bias primitive and heathenish and but a further example of the inferiority of the northerners in general. In my field research I found the southern Comanches, relative to the northern Comanches, to be generally lacking in knowledge of, or sympathy toward, those aspects of Comanche culture considered by the northerners and Comanche literature to be traditional in nature, that is, relating to the time of the nomadic culture of the Comanches and the values and world view which it posited.

The preceding account of northern versus southern Comanche orientation is intended as a generalizing descriptive attempt. There are, of course, progressive northern Comanches and conservative southern Comanches. However, the relatively rigidly defined spatial distribution of the opposing "tribes" will usually call for the progressively oriented northerner to move south and the conservative southerner to move north. I observed several instances in which an individual, in order to visibly state his factional allegiance, moved his abode into the geographic area most closely identified with the faction which he supported.

Sanapia is a *yapai* Comanche and an archconservative and traditionalist. The majority of my informants were also northern Comanches, though not all were *yapai*. These were the only people who possessed some "accurate" knowledge concerning native doctors and doctoring practices and who actually interacted in this institutionalized framework. The southerners, recognizing Sanapia's role among the northerners, emphasized the superiority of white doctors over the "superstitious" doctoring practices valued by the majority of northerners.

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tesy that we did a white person, and the Indians responded. In due time some of the Indians wanted credit until Grass Money payment time. The government paid fifty dollars twice a year to each man, woman, and child. This represented interest on tribal funds the government was holding in trust.

Carrying the Indians' accounts until Grass Money time brought on an unlooked-for complication. We had naturally supposed that when they received their pay, the Indians would return to their allotments. But the campout on the reservation of hundreds of families was too much like the old tribal life for them to return readily to their lonesome allotment camp.

They could feast, visit, gamble, and hold horse races, and those that drank were supplied by the whiskey peddlers. Then too there were many visitors from other tribes, as they knew food, beef, and whiskey would be plentiful.

To get our money we had to go to the reservation and collect while they still had it. They were pleased to see us, and they paid readily. They wanted to keep their credit good, but putting aside the necessary amount so as to pay up on their return was too much planning for them. That was especially true of the drinkers.

My first collection trip was successful and uneventful, and from then on it was my regular chore, and an interesting one. I would be gone from one to two days if the payment was held near the town of Cache, and longer when it was held near Ft. Sill at what was called "The Stone Store."

When death struck our little community, we were poorly prepared. Two women and one baby died in a single night. All the needs for a funeral were lacking—no undertaker, no caskets, no cemetery, and no preacher.

Early the next morning caskets were put together from yellow pine and brought to our store and set on sawhorses. There the townswomen covered, padded, and lined them. Black calico was used for the covering of the adult caskets, and white muslin for the baby's. Quilting cotton was used for the padding and pillow, and bleached muslin for the lining.

Handles intended for toolboxes were screwed on the sides of the adult caskets by Dad after the women had tacked the black calico in place. Permission to bury the bodies on the claim adjoining the town on the north was granted by an old German homesteader.

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the Indian customers. Later he ran another check on the accuracy of our bookkeeping. He passed this information on to the Indians. I can well remember my embarrassment when one day, after he had finished his investigations, the Reverend Mr. Deyo shook my hand and thanked me for "dealing honestly with my people." It seemed just a little hard for him to understand that a white merchant would voluntarily deal honestly with the Indians. But I am sure Dad, Mother, and I would have been just as puzzled had anyone suggested we deal any other way. At least, I never heard the subject discussed.

I am positive that at the time I had never heard the word "romantic," but it represents the way I thought about the Comanches in our trade territory. They belonged to the group known as Quohadie Tejas, or Antelope Eaters. Their range had been the high plains, centered in what is now the Texas Panhandle, and their leader was Quanah Parker. They had fought at Adobe Walls and in June, 1876, had been the last of the Comanches to surrender to the Army. By simple arithmetic, I knew that every male from the late forties upward had been a warrior. For my own convenience in thinking of them, I separated them into a group I called "the old fellows."

There was another group I didn't have to separate out, those ranging in age from their late teens to the late thirties or early forties. They separated themselves out. Not only did they hold themselves aloof from the whites, but there was a separateness between them and the older Indians—apparently including their own parents.

I learned that these particular Indians had been East to a school financed by the government at Carlisle, Pennsylvania. I learned that most of them had the equivalent of a high school education, and some had done college work. Now that they were home with the tribe, they made not the slightest move to use what they had learned, either to better their own condition or to be of assistance to the tribe.

They talked only Comanche among themselves, and wouldn't speak English when conversing with whites if they could make themselves understood by grunts, sign language, or pointing. I called these Indians the Carlisle group.

These young men and older boys, as well as the girls of the same age group, were better-looking Indians than the older, warrior-aged group and their squaws. It was most noticeable in their legs, which were straighter and better developed and appeared longer—the bandy look of the oldsters' legs had disappeared. These young Indians had

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883 ingly remembered none of the white man's ways. And they seemed to
177 have forgotten the old tribal ways as well.
[291] In my thinking, I found it convenient to put the women and girls
562 in yet another group. One of the first things I learned was the taboo
191 which prevented women and girls from talking to men, Indians or white, other than their own menfolks, excepting on the most necessary
[123] occasions. Because of this I never addressed them unless they spoke to me.

124 I was consciously making every effort to learn as much of the
[122] language as I could, and in time I was able to catch on quickly to what the men were talking about and to follow their conversation.
[198] But the women seemed to have a vocabulary of their own. I would often listen to a group of women talking in the store, or out in the camp, but I could distinguish only an occasional word.

657 Those who conceived of educating the Indian youths also con-
871 ceived the idea that the educating must be done in faraway places, and little has been done through the years to change the practice.
[171] Even as I type this article, several hundred Indian children from New Mexico, Arizona, and other western states are attending Chilocco Indian School in northern Oklahoma.

657 While in Carlisle or other Indian boarding schools, Indian children
871 had slept in clean beds with sheets changed every week. They had sat
177 in chairs at a table with a clean tablecloth and had eaten food served from clean dishes. They had been taught the use of the knife, fork,
178 and spoon. But when the Indian boy arrived home for good, he had only his parents' camp to go to. Though the Comanche families were living on their allotments, they continued to live a camp life, much the same as they had lived the previous twenty-five years as Reservation Indians.

352 In this camp our Carlisle graduate sat on the ground, or a log, or
264 a goods box. He ate his food from a pie tin and was served directly from the kettle in which the food had been cooked. If a boy was lucky, he had a fork and spoon to go along with his pocketknife as eating utensils.

513 Spring, summer, and fall they all slept in the brush arbor on plat-
[342] forms and under seldom-washed cotton blankets. When the northers became blue and came with regularity, they slept in conventional tents, either on the ground or on low platforms constructed with
342 poles. Once in a while, as I rode on my collection trips, I would see a

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set of tepee poles, twenty-two in number, left from the old days. Now they were covered with canvas.

The government had built a small box house, generally fourteen by twenty-eight feet, at most family camps, but it could hardly accommodate the multiple-wife family, still in vogue. Mostly it was the camp's storage house, an out-of-the-weather place for saddles, harness, horse feed and medicine, and the women's sewing machine.

I almost never knew one of the Carlisle Comanches, man or boy, to take a job. There were riding jobs on the ranches, and many merchants would have been glad to hire a Comanche clerk. Old Indians with horse herds were forced to hire white broncobusters to break their horses. I asked an Indian father once, in my ignorance, why he was paying to have his horses ridden, and added the naïve qestion, "Don't your boys like to break horses to ride?" In our Scottish household I had never heard the words tact and diplomacy.

The old fellow gave a snort of disgust and replied, partly in sign language and partly in words, "They more like riding sitting-down-walking," that is to say, riding a bicycle.

The question had been crude on my part, and I should have been pulled up short for my brashness. But I was all excited, thinking what a wonderful lot of fun it would be to gentle and ride those ponies. I had actually helped do it on the farm with wild horses from Oregon. I knew there was a better way to break a horse to ride than to throw a saddle on a wild horse, climb on, and spur him until he was exhausted from bucking.

Just a little time spent gentling a horse pays big dividends. Let him wear a saddle while he is tied snugly to a post or in a stall. Then, when you first ride him do not use your spurs. We first taught a horse to lead while wearing a saddle. Then, the first few times we rode him we had someone on a strong, gentle horse keep the wild horse's head snubbed close to the other's saddle horn and lead him.

Indian boys had nothing but time. Tribal custom had been to require no menial tasks from boys as they grew up: "Pretty soon be warrior, may-be-so die." But in the old days, the boy was expected to work with the horses, herd them, learn to train them, and become an expert horseman. From my observations, the Carlisle boys were interested in horses only when they wanted to ride somewhere. Had they seen fit to gentle and break their fathers' horses, they would have had much more salable animals.

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By the time the settlers moved in, the antelope had disappeared from the Comanche country, as well as the deer and turkey. As early as we arrived, I never saw a turkey. Some of the small black bear held out in the Wichita mountains for a few years. But there was no possible chance for the Indian to live on large game.

Ducks, geese, plover, curlew, snipe, bobwhite, and prairie chickens were plentiful, and West Cache Creek was teeming with channel cat, blue and yellow cat, and perch; yet I never saw an Indian hunting birds or dangling a hook in the water.

Fish-eating, I was to learn later, was almost taboo. Wallace and Hoebel, doing research for their Comanche history, gained the impression that the Comanches ate fish only to keep from actually starving. They had no objection to white people's fishing in their streams. I fished for miles up and down West Cache Creek, and no one ever objected.

I have often thought if I owned a farm West Cache ran through, I would charge people just to look at the creek. To the eye of a boy, there was nothing so beautiful as the blue-green water running over the slightly reddish-tinted granite sand. There was no quicksand on West Cache. Its sand was so sharp you scarcely sank in it when you walked, nor did you rile the water. Here and there were small beaches of clean sand where the swimmer could enter and leave the water. This cool, clear water came from the Wichita Mountains. Strong, vigorous elms along the high banks furnished shade for the swimmer or fisherman. More than sixty years later, I still feel it was the most beautiful prairie stream I have ever seen.

Too young in those days to realize the cause, I couldn't help but sense the terrible separateness between my Carlisle group and the older men and women. Later I was to realize that government educators of the late nineteenth century, in carrying out their theory of educating young Indians, violated the unwritten bedrock commandment of human behavior: "Thou shalt not speak ill of any man in the presence of his offspring." You must not cut away the support from beneath his feet. You may be able to furnish him another platform, on which he may see fit to step; but he can never step onto your platform if you have first destroyed his footing.

Even the Comanche children's language became taboo at Carlisle. After drilling into the children's minds what terrible people their par-

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ents were, the teachers continued to accent the differences between the parents' behavior and what would be expected of the children when they left school. Dinning this into the children's ears for a dozen years or so without further plans for the future, the teachers sent them back to these same parents. Pride of parentage, pride of tribe, pride of language had been either destroyed or so badly weakened and eroded that the young Indian had nothing to step from with confidence.

Instead of seeking to make a place for himself, aiding his parents and tribe by using his training and education, the Carlisle Indian moved into his parents' camp. There, without self-respect and certainly with no hope for betterment lying ahead, he contented himself with living on his meager Grass Money and what lease money his allotment brought in, when and if it was rented.

At that time an agriculture lease brought in only $1.25 per acre, or $200 per year. In addition to the $200, the government required the lessee, as further compensation over the first five-year period, to fence the allotment with a four-wire fence with posts every rod, to break out a certain number of acres of sod for crops, to build a fourteen by twenty-eight box house with a shingle roof, and to dig and wall up a well at least forty feet deep, unless plentiful water was found at a lesser depth. Grass leases brought even less.

Land along the streams had been chosen by the Comanches for their allotments, and this gave them a monopoly on water, wood, and bottomland. Those with land along West Cache and Post Oak creeks also had a fine grade of sand to sell. These 160-acre tracts, one for each man, woman, and child living on a certain date in 1901, were the remnant of the millions of acres these Indians' forefathers had roamed over and ruled for many, many centuries.

No one expected the old ones to change their ways so radically as to try to learn to farm. But it was beyond my boyish understanding why the younger Indians fresh from school, some even with college rating, didn't try farming. Many of them had first class sandy-loam bottomland. They could look around them and see white families making a living on their upland farms, putting out orchards, and even adding a room to their houses now and then.

I discovered in time that a number of the old fellows were really going out of their way to be nice to me, and in lost pup fashion I responded. I thought little of it at the time, and took these friendships in my stride. Maybe I thought of them as my due. It wasn't

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One afternoon in the late 1930s I drove into the little town of Faxon on business for a client. When I got out of the car, I was face to face with Charley Ross. It had been long since I had talked with him, and my happiness at meeting him appeared to be matched by his at seeing me. For a Plains Indian he was truly an old man—somewhere in his seventies. We sat down on the running board of the car, and dusk found us still sitting there. I had forgotten I had a client, and Charley had forgotten that the daughter with whom he lived would be worried about his being out in the raw, chilly evening air.

I had it in mind to ask him many questions about himself, other questions about old Comanche friends of whom I had lost track, and yet other questions about Comanches in general. But he too had questions, and insistent ones. He knew I had become a lawyer, of course, but mostly he wanted to know about my children—for what place in life they had fitted themselves.

When he learned that my oldest son was already a lawyer and the younger son was preparing for law school, he grinned with pleasure. My father was the first magistrate appointed after the opening, and his jurisdiction had stretched for twenty or more miles in any direction. To Charley that meant Dad had been learned in the law. Then I had followed in the law profession, and now two sons were following me. To Charley, this progression was wonderful.

He was equally pleased to match up my daughters with his. My oldest was on the faculty of a small college, and the younger was teaching in a high school. Both his daughters were teachers and had married teachers.

Another Carlisle product who launched himself into the white man's life stream and kept himself afloat was one of Quanah Parker's sons. But then, he had a motive. He was in love.

Chief Quanah Parker's house was about three miles from the little town of Cache, Oklahoma. Some Texas cattlemen had settled him in a kind of apartment house just south of the Wichita Mountains, where West Cache Creek breaks out into the prairie. He was recognized by the government as chief of the Comanches. Like all the older Indians married to more than one wife, he had been allowed to keep his four or five remaining wives. One son was a Methodist minister, one daughter was married to a minister, and two other daughters married well-to-do white men.

The father of the Carlisle son's sweetheart had been a missionary

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This was the first time I had heard this woman say more than a single word of English at a time. When she had bought coffee from me, she had asked for "*to-o-pac.*" (I believe the Comanches have three names for coffee, but this one, meaning "black water," is the only one I remember.) And she had gone through her whole grocery list the same way. It had been "*pina*" for "sugar four bits," "*hocoon*" for "matches five cents," "*mo-be-po-dra*" for "dry salt meat six bits." Or maybe she would point to canned corn and ask, "*Heepet?*" or "How much?" She had always asked for one article at a time, and paid for it before asking for the next item. Though she had been educated at Carlisle, she had consistently played the part of an uneducated blanket squaw.

Even living as close to the Comanches as I did, I never heard any of them mention the experiences of the children who were sent away to school—say in the late 1870s, when Charley Ross must have gone. This was another of the things I remember having failed to ask him. Then by chance I heard a Pueblo woman speak out on the subject.

She appeared to be about fifty, and she ran a small souvenir shop in the Taos Pueblo. She dressed as a white woman shopkeeper might have dressed, and her hair was tastefully arranged. She used excellent English, and a lady in our sightseeing party, curious about her appearance and her fine command of the language, asked, "Did you attend a white school?"

This is the Indian woman's answer, as nearly word for word as I can give it. "Fifty years ago this fall—I was about five or six years old —a great number of white men came to this Pueblo one day. We didn't know what these men wanted, nor who they were. Some wore badges of the United States marshals, and we were to learn others were from the Indian schools. There were some Indian police, but not of our people.

"They didn't speak to anyone. They told no one why they had come. Suddenly a large number of them began to make a house-to-house search, and the rest stayed on guard in the Plaza. As they went through the houses, they seized every child from about five up to fourteen or fifteen. Screaming and crying, we children were dragged one by one out into the middle of the plaza. They herded us there as though we were a bunch of wild cattle. No one knew what was wrong —neither we children nor our parents.

"We were all screaming and crying hysterically. I had seen white

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657 men but had never spoken to one. I had a great fear of them. They
871 kept us in a circle, with our parents on the outside, and we couldn't
171 run to them for comfort. As I sobbed and cried, I became aware that someone was talking to me—calling me by name—talking loud in our tongue.

"I began looking around, and it was my grandfather. He was a very old man, and he stood back away from the circle of white men and didn't look toward us children. He didn't want the white men to know he was talking to one of us, and neither our white guards nor the Indian ones knew our tribal language.

"He talked loud, so I would hear him above the screaming and crying of the other children. 'Daughter, the white man is all-powerful!' he shouted. 'There is nothing we can do to help you. They are going to take you away and put you in school. They won't really harm you. They want to teach you the white man's way. Should you run away, they will catch you, bring you back, and punish you.

"'There is a way you can defeat the white man. Learn everything well he tries to teach you. Learn everything about the white man's way. Learn to speak his language. Then you will have defeated the white man. You will be as wise as he in the white man's way; and he won't like it because you will know also the Indian's way.'

"I stopped my sobbing. I stood as straight as my old, old grandfather, and I did as he told me. I learned to speak the white man's language without accent, and I have had a better education than most white people. I mastered every course they offered me. I was always properly behaved and they treated me well. I was able to help many Indian children adjust to the white man's school. But never have I forgiven the white man for the brutal way they rounded up us children and separated us from our parents.

"They had not let our parents know they were coming for us. Had our parents known, they said they would have taken us to the mountains, where no one would ever find us."

657 Similar roundups must have taken place among the Comanches in
871 the early Reservation period—the late seventies, the early eighties, maybe into the nineties. They could even have used the army. It was handy, there at Fort Sill. It was Indian Bureau policy—an unfortunate policy forced upon a people with thousands of generations of freedom and independence behind them.

In my time there were older brothers and sisters who had traveled

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the school trail and who softened the emotional jolt on the little ones. 657 871
But it must still have been a terrible shock for any young child to be taken from his camp home and hauled by hack and train to faraway places, there to be tossed neck and heels into the white man's way of life and forced to eat his food . . . sleep alone in bed . . . and learn life from his books.

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Quanah Parker seemed to be the Indian with the greatest influence, and the *Star* and *Journal* had a story of some sort about him in nearly every issue.

They ranged from the story about his white mother's having died of a broken heart when she was captured and returned to her own people, to stories about his physical prowess and his ability as a leader—about how, when once he had led his braves into Fort Sill under arms and surrendered, he had turned his attention to being a leader in peace. Then there was much said of how he had become a business adviser to other southwestern tribes. All in all, the stories painted a picture of a versatile and dedicated leader.

Two of these stories made me aware that the Comanches practiced polygamy. One had to do with the decision of some Texas cattlemen, who had been renting Indian grass from Quanah, that he should have a house. They hauled the lumber from Wichita Falls. They had to ford it across the Red River's quicksand and drag it through the mud of high-banked Deep Red, a total of fifty-five miles as the crow flies, to a site three and a half miles from where the town of Cache now stands, and on the west bank of West Cache Creek. The house could be considered an apartment house. Each of Quanah's wives had an apartment. In addition, there was a general living area.

The other story that stands out in my memory had to do with the Indian Department's efforts to do away with polygamy before the white people actually moved in and set up local government on a county level. Once this was done, everyone would be subject to the Oklahoma territorial law.

The department pinned its hopes on winning over Quanah Parker, the last war leader of the Comanches. Not only was he respected by the Comanches, but he had become a sort of bellwether to the other Indians involved in this opening—the Kiowas, Caddos, Wichitas, and Apaches.

As the department considered this a very minor issue, its officials apparently approached Quanah Parker casually on the subject. They simply explained that the new officers of the local communities would have to arrest any Indian with more than one wife, just as they would have to arrest any white man found with multiple wives.

The solution, they said, was very simple. All the Indian had to do was pick out the wife he wanted to keep and then explain to the others that under white man's law they were surplus and would have to move elsewhere. "You see," they went on plausibly, "if they

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choose to live on their allotment, the department will fence it and build them a little house. Every six months they will have their Grass Money for living expenses, and they can also lease out their allotment to a white man to farm.

Now Quanah had a question: "How is the Indian to tell which wife to keep and which is surplus?"

"That's easy," the department's spokesman answered. "Keep the one you love the best, the one you have had the longest, maybe the one that has borne you the most children, perhaps the prettiest one, or even the youngest and strongest. Since you can have but one, select the one you want to keep, and tell the rest to go."

It is always well to remember that the Comanches considered themselves as "The People" and were never awed in any company. In addition Chief Parker was proud of the fact that his white mother came from one of the first families of Texas, and I doubt that he ever felt inferior to any man. His reply not only shocked the government men, but sent them scurrying around for another answer to the question.

I think Quanah Parker's answer reached an all-time high in negotiating: "I have had a number of wives. Sometimes a wife dies and I take another to replace her. Once I had seven wives, but now I have only five. Each of my wives I have for a different length of time. Some I have for a very long time. Some for a very short time. I love all my wives equally. I could not call my wives together and tell them, 'Now that the white man is coming, his law says that I can keep but one wife.

" 'White man says I should keep the one that I love best. The rest are surplus and must go and live somewhere else. So this is the woman I love the best, and the rest of you are surplus. You must go and live elsewhere.' This I cannot do. You come to my house. You pick out a wife for me to keep. Then you tell 'em."

This ended the idea of telling Comanche wives that any of them were surplus. There is little doubt that any negotiator suggesting to any Comanche wife that she was surplus would have lived only as long as it took the squaw to cover the distance between them and to use her butcher knife. Nor would the three troops of cavalry stationed at Fort Sill have made any headway in quelling the squaw uprising.

Once Quanah Parker convinced the Indian Department officials that it would be impossible to handle the multiple wife situation as

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simply as the department heads had imagined, the department and Chief Parker arrived at this sensible solution:

Nothing would be done about men who already had more than one wife, but they were not to take any more wives. Even if one died, a man would have to get along on what wives he had left. All single men would be restricted to marrying one wife. A violation of any one of these restrictions would bring about prosecution under the white man's law.

Among the Indians I knew intimately enough to be familiar with their family lives, I knew of only one who violated this agreement. He was a compulsive drinker, and was about to starve the two-wife family he already had when he took on a third wife. Ultimately he had to move onto the reservation permanently so as to get food, and I lost track of him. His Indian neighbors seemed to be ashamed of his conduct and tried to ignore his existence.

Polygamy had been an economic and social necessity for the Comanches. From the time they entered written history, when they came into contact with the Spanish people of Santa Fe about 1700, until their surrender in 1876 at Fort Sill, their history was one of continuous warfare. They had fought and defeated the Pawnees, the Osages, the Tonkawas, the Navahoes, the Utes, and the Pueblo Indians in New Mexico and Arizona. They had established an inland empire, Comanchería, just as legitimately as Charlemagne established his, and for a time they rode the crest of the horse-buffalo culture. They marketed horses with the Canadian Indians, raided as much as 1,500 miles into Mexico, and had seen the Pacific Ocean. They had stopped the advance of Spain to the north and to the east and that of the French to the west and to the south. Then, in the years of the new kind of warfare which brought about their decline, the United States, the Republic of Texas, the Confederacy, and Mexico were among their enemies. During all this time there was no period when the tribe as a whole was at peace.

In war men die young, and the male-female balance is lost. Continual warfare brought about an erosion of the numbers of Comanche men out of all proportion to the natural losses, through death, of the women. It was only through the custom of polygamy that every woman could have a husband and the birthrate could be maintained.

Then too, there had to be many trained hands to keep a Comanche

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one wife was purchased. Sisters often trained themselves so that they could be wives of the same man, one learning to be a good horsewoman and the other to be expert in the tanning of hides and making of clothes, one complementing the other, in the hope that they might be purchased at the same time and so remain together.

If, in due time, there came to be need of a third wife, the rule was that she be young and healthy, capable of taking over the burdens of the older women. When the young wife bore a baby for the camp there was rejoicing, not only by the husband but by the other wives as well. This was especially true if it was a boy baby. (This part appealed to me. Just think of a family life where they never ran out of babies!)

I never once saw an older wife scold or mistreat the child of another wife. In fact, I never saw a Comanche woman mistreat any woman's child. It was no uncommon sight to see one wife caring for the children, while the other wife or wives were working, say, at hauling up wood for the camp.

At the time when I knew them, the Comanches were still living strictly a camp life. Where it was possible, the Indian Department had fenced the family allotments all into one enclosure or pasture, using four strands of barbed wire and posts every rod. The department had also built each family a box house—in most instances measuring fourteen by twenty-eight feet, shingle-roofed, and set on a foundation of rock piers about four feet apart.

Obviously, a family consisting of the husband, two to three wives, and several children could not live in a space that small. For spring, summer, and fall use a family would construct a brush arbor. Forked posts were cut so as to be about seven or eight feet tall when the lower end was set in the ground. Poles were laid from one fork to another, and in turn numerous cross poles were laid on them. Then a thick layer of brush with leaves was piled on the cross poles. This layer was thick enough to repel the sun's heat and shed the water from a reasonable rain. From time to time, as they were needed, additional layers of brush were applied.

This arbor served as living quarters for the family the greater part of the year. Since the sides were left open, whatever breeze there was, from whichever direction it came, was utilized. Platforms, placed on forked sticks and about three feet from the ground, served as beds.

The cooking was done on an open fire, just below the bank of a

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them. Everyone who was able was required to walk. An old friend of mine, Wer-que-yah, if he was in the mood and was properly urged, would relate how he, along with many others, including Peet-so, the girl he later married, walked several hundred miles to Fort Sill, in the winter. While this was going on, the hide hunters, with the Army's blessing, were destroying the remnant of the buffalo.

This was Che-appy's childhood background. The first that is definitely known about him, after his appearance on the tribal roll, concerns his presence at the Carlisle Indian School in Pennsylvania, which was established in 1879 by General (then Captain) Richard H. Pratt. Norman G. Holmes, area tribal relations officer of the Anadarko Agency, has found letters and copies of letters that passed between Superintendent Pratt and others at Carlisle and the Indian agent at Fort Sill, whose name was Hunt. One letter to Hunt, dated April 18, 1883, signed by H. Price, states that during the following summer certain pupils, among whom was "Cheapie Ross," would complete the three-year period for which they had been sent to Carlisle. This would mean that Charley Ross began his schooling in the fall of 1880, the beginning of the second year of the school's existence.

The majority of the children in the first student body had been Northern Sioux. Washington officials insisted that Pratt take part of his students from this source, so that they would be hostages against another outbreak of the Sioux. He personally secured 84 Sioux children. He then sent three emissaries into the Southwest, and also wrote to various agents there. This effort netted him 52 more students, bringing the total to 136—16 more than had been authorized by the order establishing the school.

For some time I wondered why other Comanches in our trade territory who were about the same age as Charley could not speak English and had not been to school. Among them was Charley's brother-in-law To-pet-chy, Yok-so-wy, Coffee, and Wer-que-yah, of whom I have spoken. The next oldest Indian I knew who spoke English was Andrew Per-da-sof-pa, who was about ten years younger. His sister and a brother also went to Carlisle. One reason for the gap is, I believe, that when Carlisle was first opened it was too soon after the surrender for teen-age Comanche children to trust themselves to a school run by the white man's army, and especially by one of the officers who had been leading the fight against them. Then too, General Pratt took only fifty-two students from the Southwest area in

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1879 and fifty-nine in 1889. This area included the Cheyenne-Arapaho Agency and the Pawnee Agency, as well as the Agency at Fort Sill. Agent Hunt had the Comanches, Apaches, Caddo, Wichita, Keechi, and Kiowa under his supervision, and so no one tribe could have sent many students.

As for Che-appy, his daughter recalls his saying that because he was an orphan and had no one to look after him, he was picked up and sent when pupils were being sought. Human nature seems much the same everywhere: here was a chance to rid the tribe of an orphan.

The letters found by Mr. Holmes indicate that Che-appy was given an Anglo surname at the school, as became the custom. The children's Indian names were too much for the teachers. One letter from General Pratt to Agent Hunt, dated August 27, 1881, listed certain students from Hunt's Agency who were in school, and in the list was "Cheapie Ross." Another, dated August 6, 1882, states that "Cheapie Ross," among others, "is here and quite well." The letter also states that "Cheapie" was out for a while during harvest, and was praised for his excellent work. It was a custom of the school to place students, both boys and girls, out to work for the nearby German farmers during the summer vacation. These summer jobs were called "outings." Another of Charley's summer outings, according to his daughter, was in the John Wanamaker store in New York City, where he worked as a stockboy.

A copy of one letter sent to General Pratt, dated June 15, 1882, states that Joshua Givens, having neither father nor mother, should be allowed to decide for himself whether he would remain in school. It may be assumed that Che-appy, since he was also an orphan, had the same privilege when his three years came to an end. I do not know how long he remained in school, if he did decide to stay longer than the initial three-year period. The next Agency record of him is the date of his marriage to Tits-se-na, also called Nah-vo-ne-vi-chy, by Indian custom. This was in 1889. The marriage was ended forty-five years later by the death of Tits-se-na. Four daughters and a son were born to this union. Though polygamy was the practice of the Comanches at the time, Charley took but one wife.

Mrs. Ross never had the privilege of schooling, but she evidently did yeoman service in the rearing of the family. She was a quiet-mannered person, but her smile was as contagious as was her husband's. Also, I distinctly remember how easily their two little girls

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smiled. Even Charley's old father-in-law, Mi-he-suah, a veteran of many years on the People's war trails and one of the first casualities of the battle of Adobe Walls, let his face light up now and then with a happy smile; and Mrs. To-pet-chy, the sister-in-law, and her children smiled often. Smiling Comanches were rare, and when one saw a smile on the face of one of the old fellows, it seemed a bit of a miracle.

Charley's first job in Oklahoma was with the Chilocco Indian School. Next he worked for the Kiowa Agency at Anadarko. Then came the opportunity to work for Sam Burnett as a cowboy on the Burnett Ranch in Texas. Charley and Sam Burnett became good friends—the Burnetts, father and son, had the reputation of getting on well with the Indians—and while Charley worked on the ranch he also became acquainted with many other Texas cattlemen. Mrs. Cato especially remembers his having spoken of the Waggoners.

The Burnett Ranch occupied much of the land between Wichita Falls and the Red River to the north. Sam Burnett also rented grass from Quanah Parker on the north side of the river, and he was one of the Texas cattlemen and grass users who in 1884 built a house for Quanah on the bank of West Cache Creek, northwest of the present town of Cache, Oklahoma. When the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass, Burnett continued his leasing until the country was opened for homesteading.

From Albert Clark, a half-blood Comanche employed at the Anadarko Agency, I learned that Charley Ross acquired his Anglo first name while he worked for Sam Burnett. Mr. Clark's parents had moved to the present town of Faxon, where they lived close to Charley, and as a lad Mr. Clark often talked to him. On one occasion Charley told young Albert the story of his name. One night, he said, the cowhands were all sitting around the wagon eating, when Sam Burnett called Che-appy to come and sit by him. He told Che-appy that he didn't like his name and was going to give him a better one. "From now on," he said, "your name is Charley Ross."

When I learned that Charley had worked as a cowboy for Sam Burnett, I understood something about him that had bothered me. I remembered Charley as a very graceful horseman, like all the Comanches, who sat their horses as if they belonged there and nowhere else. Charley had an extra grace, especially in his mounting and dismounting, which were done with an even flow of only the necessary movements. Perhaps the proper word is rhythm. But my mental pic-

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who would explain to the older man the amount of the check and look to see that we gave him the right amount of money.

In contrast, Charley was always ready to ease the contact between the two races. He sought and found many ways to aid his people in their dealings with the white settlers. Among the tasks which he allotted to himself was that of translating for ministers. Much of the effort to bring the Christian religion to the Comanche was made by ministers unfamiliar with the language. I knew only two ministers who could exhort in the Comanche tongue. The rest had to depend on interpreters when they were preaching. According to Mrs. Cato, her father and mother were charter members of the Baptist church organized at the Deyo Mission on Blue Beaver Creek, west of Lawton and south of the Wichitas. Charley Ross became interpreter for various missionaries connected with the Northern Baptist Convention, now known as the American Baptist Convention. His children and grandchildren are helping to carry on the work of this church organization. Following the death of Reverend Deyo's wife, his brother-in-law, a Mr. Given, and his wife lived at the Deyo Mission parsonage and helped Mr. Deyo carry on his work. When Charley's son was born he was named Given, in honor of this good man. That son, Given M. Ross, now lives in Oklahoma City.

Charley also acted as interpreter in government matters. Of course, I was never present when conferences were held between government officials and tribal leaders, but I am sure Charley was often there as interpreter. I have seen him both in state courts and in the United States District Court, acting as the official interpreter in order that an Indian might have his day in court. On at least one occasion he was used as an interpreter before a legislative committee at the state capitol. This, I believe, was during the consideration of a bill to abolish the Peyote Religious Ceremony. Charley was one who made the wishes of the old fellows known to the state legislature.

These are some of the ways in which Charley Ross spent his long and busy life, smoothing the path between the two races. His task was not easy. Hostility, animosity, bigotry, avarice, and suspicion, if not openly apparent, were but thinly camouflaged on either side when the white man and the Indian were at odds.

In such situations, an interpreter must have the confidence of both parties, or confusion results. One example concerns the signing, in October, 1892, at Fort Sill, of the Jerome Agreement, between the

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government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Making an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived

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a wife, the other three having died from overwork. Neither would he tolerate a slave woman to help his wife.

According to Comanche custom, if you buy a wife and if for any reason she is unsatisfactory, if she runs away, or if she dies, you may go to the wife's father and demand the purchase price back, or another wife if there is still an unmarried daughter.

Concerning Mo-cho-rook's cruelty, it was said that he never took a prisoner. He killed all, as he came to them: warriors, women, old men, children, babies; and he took no prisoners. My memory is too faulty to give the number of scalps he was supposed to still have. One thing seemed pretty authentic. He was supposed to have a full-length lariat (approximately thirty-three feet) that he had plaited from women's hair—Mexican, Indian, and white.

I was never able to learn whether plaiting was an American Indian–developed art, or if it was learned from the Spanish. Many of the old fellows plaited excellent round rawhide ropes, and also many of them were quite proud of their horsehair lariats. Mo-cho-rook was the one and only man who was supposed to have one plaited from women's hair.

His death on October 4, 1915, at the age of eighty-nine, was slightly on the prosaic side. At least he died in bed. But he saw fit to lend a dramatic touch. He had sustained a broken hip while working with his horses. They brought a doctor out from Lawton, when he refused to go to the Indian hospital. The doctor put him in a cast, but when the doctor came back in a few days, he found that the old chap had made his wife cut the cast off. She had brought him dogwood switches from the creek, and he had plaited himself a wicker cast to hold his leg and hip. He lived only a short time.

As to his age, here is all we have to go by. The Comanche roll was made up soon after the surrender in 1875. At that time he was arbitrarily given the birth year of 1826. That means that they judged him to be fifty years old. It is extremely unlikely that even then any of the warriors who were on the raid when he was kidnapped from Mexico were alive. A little arithmetic will show that they would have been at least seventy years old. That is just older than Indians became at that time, under the conditions they lived in.

Another bit of arithmetic brings some interesting conclusions. Supposing that Mo-Cho-rook's birth year is approximately correct, that means he would have been an active warrior by the year 1844. That

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CA-VO-YO, GIVER OF NAMES

I NEVER KNEW but one of the old Comanches that carried the distinction of being a Name-Giver. He was Ca-vo-yo. When the Comanche roll was made out, soon after the surrender in 1876, he was given the birth year of 1840. That only meant the government clerk figured he looked to be thirty-six years old. I remember that when I finally sorted him out as an individual, I judged him to be about the age of my father, a Civil War veteran crowding seventy.

I must have seen Ca-vo-yo first in March, 1902, but then he was one of a large number of older Comanches, whom I termed, for my own convenience, the "old fellows." That meant to me that they were old enough to have been warriors who probably had fought at the battle of Adobe Walls and been present when the surrender took place at Fort Sill.

In due time most of the old fellows became individuals to me. I learned their names, where their camps were located, the number of wives each had, if any, and their dispositions toward the white man; and being a trader's son, I learned of their bill-paying reliability, in the event credit was extended to them between Grass Money payments. If a trader extended credit, he needed to know all the wives by name and keep a record of what each wife purchased, though he charged the total bill to the husband.

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Indian scouts. The scouts were recruited and commanded by Captain Richard H. Pratt (the same Captain Pratt who, a few years later, was to organize the Indian school at Carlisle, Pennsylvania, and who remained its superintendent for eighteen years, trying to turn Indian youths into imitation white men).

Colonel G. P. Buell advanced from Fort Griffin. Colonel R. S. MacKenzie marched from Fort Concho. Colonel Nelson A. Miles took the field from Fort Supply. Major William Price came eastward from Fort Bascum in New Mexico. Captain Pratt and his scouts, using pack animals to carry supplies, operated at times as a sixth unit.

General Sheridan's idea was to keep the Indians on the move so continuously that their grass-fed horses wouldn't have time to graze, nor would the Indians be able to replenish their commissary from game. (In 1874 there were buffalo on the high plains, but the white hide-hunters were rapidly bringing about their extinction.) A tracing of the movements of the different Army columns as they pursued the Indians, taken from their reports, shows their trails crossing and recrossing one another, sometimes doubling back, much like lizard tracks in the sand.

There were a number of incidents in which the Army captured numbers of women and children. I have never been able to determine to my own satisfaction which group Wer-que-yah and Peet-so were in. About the only difference it would make would be in the distance they had to walk to reach Fort Sill.

Some Army reports set out the problems incurred when such captures were made. The column had to be regrouped and a force sent back with the captives, sufficient to make sure that they would not escape or be rescued by the Indians. Medical personnel and medical supplies must be part of the returning column. Food must be taken along for both soldiers and prisoners. Wagons must be detached from the main force to haul the food, forage and grain for horses and mules, and such of the prisoners as were unable to walk. This included the wounded, aged, women with newborn babies, and children too young to walk. Wer-que-yah assured us that Peet-so walked the whole distance. There were no roads, no ferries or bridges. Streams must be waded, regardless of the weather or time of year. One thing that should be noted: the Army reports mention wounded women in some instances. Many of them fought with their men in the battles.

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The wounded were cared for by an army doctor, and the prisoners were fed army rations on the long walk back to Fort Sill. Once they arrived, the prisoners were placed in a guarded prison camp. They were given tents to live in and army blankets to sleep under, and were issued regular army food rations. They fared much better than the Reservation Indians, who were living on the bounty of the Indian Department. Captain Pratt, in his book, *Battlefield and Classroom*, says the Reservation Indians protested strenuously. He wrote letters to Washington, interceding for better supplies for the peaceful Indians. When the warriors were captured, or surrendered, and returned to the post, they found their women and children healthy and well fed.

Wer-que-yah became one of our first Indian customers when we opened our trading store at Old Faxen, Oklahoma Territory. We had the name Wek-wa-a for him, and that is the name under which we carried his account when Dad extended him credit to the next Grass Payment.

Perhaps "Grass Payment" needs some explanation. As soon as Quanah Parker was named chief of the Comanches by the Indian Department, Texas cattlemen began leasing graze from him at ten cents an acre. Mesquite grass and grama grass were the principal grasses. Both are members of the cane family. Tasty and flesh-building when in the growing stage, they store up sugar when matured on the stem. Stock eat and thrive on this ripe grass, and during an open winter will stay in excellent flesh. That is to say, the grasses are a twelve months' graze.

Later, the Indian Department took over the leasing of the grass and raised the price to fifty cents per acre. This lease money was distributed to the Indians on a per capita basis. It was explained to them that this payment differed from the issue of food and clothing they had received from time to time; that was pay for the grass the white man's cows were eating—or Grass Money.

This was language all Indians could understand, and the name caught on. Later, when their land was sold and the interest on their money, held in trust by the government, was distributed twice a year, it remained Grass Money as far as the older Indians were concerned. After food, beeves, and clothing were no longer issued, Grass Money and rent from their allotments were the Indians' only income.

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for at least five years. His brother must have put his brand on many horses. One thing I must not forget. We had figured my horse's age, by his teeth, as possibly eight or nine years old—though after seven their teeth are not too accurate a gauge.

Some five or six miles east of the town of Cache, Blue Beaver Creek liberates itself from the mountains and, flowing south, crosses the boundary between the Wild Life Refuge and the homestead-allotment area. Just there is located the Deyo Mission.

It took its name from its founder, the Reverend E. C. Deyo, a minister affiliated with the Northern Baptist Convention. A number of my old friends were charter members of the Native Baptist Church he organized there. The Reverend Deyo was a smallish man, about five feet six or seven inches tall. He wore an auburn Prince Albert beard that was always carefully trimmed. Rich colored, it was without a single gray hair.

He was one of the two missionaries I knew who learned the Comanche tongue and could converse and preach to the Comanches in their own language. He was in our store a number of times, directly after the country opened, when there would be an Indian gathering in our vicinity.

I never learned what, if any, religious influence Wer-que-yah may have experienced before the advent of Preacher Deyo, but it was quite evident that the little missionary and his church were influencing his later life.

A big event for me was making my first Grass Money payment on my own initiative, in the absence of my parents. I rode directly to the town of Cache before going to the reservation. I collected from an Indian or two I found in town, and learned from them where some of our other customers were camped.

There must have been two hundred or more Indian families in individual camps, scattered over possibly three hundred acres. The entrance to the camp-out was on the north, and a short way inside the gate sat the Red Store, the place of business of the licensed trader. He was a merchant licensed by the Indian Department. He operated on Indian ground and was permitted to do a credit business with the Indians, and he sat at the Army quartermaster's table when the payments were made. If the Indian being paid owed an account, the trader got his money first.

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camp was southeast of the Red Store, on a dry run that had a good deal of timber along both sides of its gouge.

Nearly every payment, we collectors would hear of someone being caught collecting on the reservation by a couple of deputy U.S. marshals, who had taken his money and pistol-whipped him. Until this payment, I had never been approached by a marshal. While they carried commissions, presumably they were on the trader's payroll.

I don't think I had ever been noticed before. I went to the camps of our customers only. Sometimes it would take two or three trips over a couple of days to catch everyone. When through, I hit for home. Often I was carrying considerable money and I didn't feel like visiting.

On this occasion, I was about to miss the Per-da-sop-py camp, and one of the girls--the children had all been to school--called me. I rode to the tent entrance, dismounted, and, holding my horse, waited till she brought out what she owed. As she was paying, a single marshal riding by saw the transaction and ordered me off the campgrounds.

We were about a half-mile from the gate, and he rode on ahead. I felt sure he was looking for his partner. I had visions of losing the $300 to $400 of the store's money I was carrying, and being pistol-whipped besides. I had seen men pistol-whipped by officers, and I didn't relish the prospect.

I had already collected from Wer-que-yah, knew his camp was hidden by trees, and rode directly to him. Excited, I told him my story and what I feared was going to happen to me. I knew either he or his son, Enoch, owned a good Colt .44. I asked to borrow it.

He began shaking his head. "Gun no wano! Gun heap bad!" he exclaimed over and over. "Horse heap fast!"

He jumped up, motioned for me to follow him, and started on foot down the bank of the run. Finding a place where the bank was low, he crossed over and continued down the east side. In a hundred or so yards we came to where the run left the reservation, near where it emptied into West Cache Creek.

Someone had pulled the staples holding the wire from a couple of posts, and the wire sagged almost to the ground. My friend stood on the wire and I rode across. I thanked him and hurried on my way. I wasn't by any means over my scare. I rode in the Cache Creek timber as far as I could and put my horse to a long lope--ready to start him running at the first sign of pursuit.

During the summer, a man by the name of Smith had started a

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000 little territorial bank in Cache. His building, which was about sixteen by twenty feet, was divided about half and half by a counter, with a sort of iron wickerwork, or grill, extending above the counter. I couldn't see anyone chasing me, but for all I knew the marshals could have beaten me to town.

I never slacked speed till I reached the bank door. I had never been inside before, but I lit running. Through the door, I began clawing money out of my pockets with both hands and shoving it through the wicker. I didn't know but what the marshals might follow me inside the bank. I told the banker who I was, the reason for my haste, and that I wanted to deposit the money. He had heard something of the ways of the guards at the reservation, and he congratulated me on my escape.

Looking back, remembering the humor I was in, how badly I was scared, I feel that had this wise Indian let me have his revolver, I would have stuck it in the waistband of my pants and, cocky as a rooster, tried to ride out the reservation gate. I knew I had broken no law.

If my guess was right, and if this guard and his partner were waiting for me, I was scared enough to try to use the gun. Someone would 657 have been shot, and it probably would have been me. The marshals were experienced officers. Always their excuse was that they had seen the collector gambling with the Indians or selling whiskey.

657 These subsidized marshals always operated on Indian land, it 452 seemed; and the only recourse was in United States Court—an expensive and long-drawn-out procedure. The collector was never arrested —just relieved of his money, whipped, and ordered off the reservation. We collectors wondered why we never heard of a whiskey peddler being pistol-whipped and having his stock and money taken from him.

Whiskey peddlers never showed till dark, and I'm sure the way 273 439 out I was shown was the ingress and egress of more than one bootlegger. Already, there was a worn path.

657 We were quite aware that a guard was necessary on the reservation while the payment was in progress and for as long as any considerable number of Indians remained camped there. Otherwise, bootleggers and gamblers would have overrun the place. Every sizable post oak tree would have had a blackjack dealer's blanket spread under it.

[452] But there were laws governing these practices. Collecting legiti- 525 mate debts was a different proposition. This restriction was an idea of the licensed trader. It would have taken the army to have stopped

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many of the Indians from gambling when they had money. But as long as blackjack and three-card monte were dealt by Indians, the money remained in the tribe.

The camp-out on the reservation was dear to the older Indians' hearts. It was a reminder of the wild tribal days after the late summer buffalo hunt—the feasting, visiting, storytelling, gambling, and horse racing. There was no buffalo meat; but they had learned to eat beef, and there was plenty of money to buy it. Likewise, they could indulge in other goodies they had acquired a taste for—and the whiskey peddler came with the darkness each evening.

Mostly the visitors came from faraway tribes—people who didn't have Grass Money payments. They seemed to be old fellows, warrior age. Here, there, and yonder, you would see two old fellows squatted or sitting with their backs against blackjack trees, facing each other and visiting in the sign language. You were sure they were reriding the old war trails.

There was another string to the licensed trader's fiddle. Once an Indian failed to pay his bill to an independent trader, his credit with that merchant was gone. When out of money, he had to trade with the licensed trader. These traders' prices ran a great deal higher, and most Indians wanted to keep out of their clutches.

I got over my scare once the store's money was safe in the bank, and I rode back to the reservation. My memory is that I had seen about all of the Indians owing large accounts, and I had only the odds and ends to clean up. I never saw the marshal again that afternoon. I rode in home, eighteen miles, that night, starting after dark. Perhaps I should add that most adults with sense, large merchants from Lawton and surrounding towns, and the moneylenders set up camp in the section line outside the reservation gate. There they could catch the Indians going and coming.

Some readers may read a different meaning into the word *reservation* than I have in mind in this story. I use it here in the sense of land held back, reserved from allotment and homesteading, when the area was opened for settlement in 1901. There were three of these tracts, containing two or three sections each. One was at Fort Sill, one at Anadarko, and one just southwest of Cache. There was a licensed trading store on each tract, and the land was the property of the Indians. Reservation was the name in general use for these areas. The

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Oklahoma

423 principal agent was at Anadarko, but for a time sub-agents were
657 maintained at both Fort Sill and Cache. One of Quanah Parker's daughters, Laura Neda, married A. C. Birdsong, an agent at Cache. The actual Comanche Reservation period ended in 1901, when the members of the tribe took individual allotments.

123 In 1907 I quit working at the store and went away to school. I visited my parents from time to time and often saw some of my Indian friends in town during these visits. But I never saw Wer-que-yah again until late in the fall of 1919. He farmed some of his Post Oak Creek bottomland and had grain for his beloved horses in the winter. The day I saw him, he was selling a wagonload of husked yellow corn. The Record Book shows that he died the following September. Peet-So survived him by twenty years.

123 Some years after his death, my mother told me of a visit he and
609 Peet-So made to her and Dad's home. He had heard of my marriage and that we had a boy baby. He was able to make Mother understand that they wanted to see a picture of my baby.

Mother invited them in. Wer-que-yah and Peet-so sat together, and Mother said they oohed and ahed as though it had been a picture of one of their own grandsons whom they had never seen. It was shortly after the noon hour, and, learning that they hadn't eaten, Mother prepared them a meal. After they left, she was unable to find the photo. Apparently they considered it a gift. They may even have asked for it.

609 About ten years ago I was told yet another story. Glenn Hagar, a druggist at Chattanooga, was the teller of the tale. His father's farm was near the Wer-que-yah home. On days when they were not needed on the farm, he and his older brother often went to the Indian's home and played with his younger sons.

There were trees to climb, Post Oak Creek to wade and swim in, fish to be caught, and cool, clear spring water to drink. There were none of these things on their father's prairie farm.

Mr. Hagar's father's people lived just west of the present town of Faxon. His father's half-sister became seriously ill with typhoid fever. There were serious doubts as to whether she would recover. One morning, while the parents were waiting for the doctor to arrive, Wer-que-yah drove into their yard.

Tying his team, he came to the house and asked about the little

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000 Dr. McLain added little to the meager supply of facts. I believe he went out only two times. The wounds were all completely scabbed over, with so sign of infection, and he told the Indians he wouldn't be needed. He left them a supply of powdered calomel, with instruc-
[136] tions to use it freely to repel screwworm flies. This was something the Indians savvied, guarding against the screwworm fly. It had been their enemy for countless generations.

758 We mustn't neglect to give Albert's healthy body, and his ances-
tors, credit for his ready healing, the quick, strong knitting of his bones—plus the stoicism with which he lay there through the long hot
000 summer, letting nature take her course. (I took occasion, once, to congratulate a surgeon on the job he had done on my son's broken wrist. He replied that much of a surgeon's success depended on the patient. "Your son got a good wrist and arm because when I told him not to use it, he obeyed. Then when I told him to use it, though it hurt, he used it.")

758 Albert remained out of school when fall came, and about Thanks-
giving time he made his first trip to town horseback. I had been working out in the tent wareroom. Finishing my task, I returned to the storeroom and found Mother talking to Albert. Jim was standing there, face abeam, as Mother told Albert how well he looked.

His hair was long enough to cover the scalp scars, and his clothes covered the other marks of his accident. There was not a scar on face or hands. He was using all four of his limbs. His right leg was shorter, apparently, than the left, but for some time he limped on both legs.

000 By this time, much of the resentment over Jim's story had subsided. Most people took the story at Jim's value. Besides, they had things of greater interest with which to occupy themselves. But the over-curious, and those who had a "thing" about Indians in general, tried to create a feeling against the Indian family and against the cowboy Bone-setter who had saved the unfortunate boy's life.

177 Some people who didn't draw claims, and some who did, resented
the Comanches' having all the good bottomland along West Cache,
657 the water, and the timber. I think it would have helped if the gov-
423 ernment had called the land the Indians kept reserved land, instead
177 of allotments. This would have accented the fact that all the land had belonged to the Indians and that they had sold only such land to the government as they, the Indians, didn't wish to keep. The faultfinders

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professed to feel it was all government land, of which the Indians were given the first pick. [77] [157] [423]

The meager description of the Bone-setter, compared to the detailed description of the horse he was riding, fed the flames of those who resented Indians and everything concerning them. They promptly accused Jim of laying a false scent. In number, sorrel horses are in the minority compared to other colors. The dissenters contended that while officers were hunting for a fugitive mounted on a tired sorrel horse, the hunted, on a fresh horse of a different color furnished by Jim, would escape.

Of course, there never was anything to indicate positively that the Bone-setter was a fugitive, nor did any representative of the law ever appear, hunting a mysterious cowboy. The fugitive idea was a product of minds wishing to believe the worst of anyone who gratuitously aided an Indian.

Some insisted that the mysterious Bone-setter hadn't left, but was being harbored by Jim. They wished to form a posse and make a search along West Cache Creek, on Jim's allotments, for the secretive cowboy's camp.

The wildest theory brought forward was the idea of the good Samaritan's having been done away with by one of Jim's squaws. This presumed that Albert regained partial consciousness about the time the Bone-setter finished his job and cried out in a delirium of pain. A nearby squaw used her butcher knife, the theory went, before Jim could rescue their benefactor.

To some, this explained the disappearance of the Bone-setter and the exactness of the description of the sorrel horse. The body could be disposed of in either of two ways. Stripped of its clothing, it could be weighted down in one of the deep holes along Cache Creek. There the garfish would soon dispose of the flesh, while an unbranded horse turned into Jim's herd would go unnoticed. Another suggestion had Jim stripping the body, tying it on a horse, and making a night trip into the Pasture Reserve. There the body could be left for the coyotes and buzzards to dispose of. (When the Pasture Reserve was opened in 1906 with a family on practically every quarter-section, a number of skeletons were found, one only about four miles from Chattanooga. A man named Richardson found it on his homestead. The writer went out the next morning, with the sheriff and county attorney, and helped gather up the bones.)

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177 But even the cruelest gossip, if rehashed long enough, becomes tiresome, and in due time the vicious-minded turned their talents elsewhere. During the five years I remained in the community, nothing was added to, or subtracted from, the mystery of the Bone-setter.

871 By the time the town started holding races the following summer, 457 Albert was recovered sufficiently to ride his father's horses, and he 541 returned to the Indian boarding school in the fall. When he and Earny returned home at Christmas, Jim brought the two boys to the store to exhibit them in their blue school clothes. Albert had grown, unbelievably. Jim and I put him between us, and he was almost as tall as 541 we were. Earny was rejoicing at his brother's growth. It meant he 302 would now ride his father's horses in the races. The school people allowed Albert to wear his hair long enough to cover his scalp and neck scars, and he was truly a fine-looking young Indian man.

885 The Comanches had a word for him, but I was not to learn it for 884 some time. The word is *Tao-yo-vis-ses*, meaning a fine-looking young man of warrior age. The story is that in camp, after the fall hunt and before the bands went their separate ways to winter quarters, the boys who had become young men would clean and polish their finest 302 horses. Then, with their womenfolks assisting, they would carefully 291 comb and braid their hair, rub oil into their skin until it glistened, don their gaudiest breechclout and moccasins, and ride bareback slowly through the camp, single file.

The camp might well be strung for some miles up and down a creek or stream. The boys were joined by the girls who had reached 302 puberty but were not married. The girls, hair in two long braids, paint- 291 ed and dressed in new buckskin dresses and leggings, were equally proud of their bodies and bearing. The girl's name corresponding to *Tao-yo-vis-ses* is *Nai-vi-se*.

The older Comanches considered this the finest sight in all the world. Everyone came out of the tipis, young and old, warriors and chiefs, and they cried out over and over, "Tao-yo-vis-ses! Nai-vi-se!" There before them was the tribe's future—its chiefs, its war leaders, its warriors, and the bearers of the tribe's men babies. Here were "The People" of tomorrow's tomorrow.

Now Albert Martny, who but for the skill of the unnamed Bone-setter would surely have died, was a handsome young warrior. You may be sure, come the summer Grass-Money time, Albert's womenfolks presented their *Tao-yo-vis-ses* with pride.

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131 In 1719 the Comanche are mentioned under their Siouan name of Padouca as living in what now is w. Kansas. It must be remembered that from 500 to 800 m. was an ordinary range for a prairie tribe and that the Comanche were equally at home on the Platte and in the Bolson de Mapimi of Chihuahua. As late as 1805 the North Platte was still known as

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COMANCHE WOMAN

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131 Padouca fork. At that time they roamed over the country about the heads of the Arkansas, Red, Trinity, and Brazos rs., in Colorado, Kansas, Oklahoma, and Texas. For nearly 2 centuries they were at
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648 war with the Spaniards of Mexico and extended their raids far down into Durango. They were friendly to the Americans generally, but became bitter enemies of the Texans, by whom they were dispossessed of their best hunting grounds, and carried on a relentless war against them for nearly 40 years. They have been close confederates of the Kiowa
648 since about 1795. In 1835 they made
657 their first treaty with the Government,
131 and by the treaty of Medicine Lodge in 1867 agreed to go on their assigned reservation between Washita and Red rs., s. w. Okla.; but it was not until after the last outbreak of the southern prairie tribes in 1874–75 that they and their allies, the Kiowa and Apache, finally settled on it. They were probably never
161 a large tribe, although supposed to be populous on account of their wide range.
[165] Within the last 50 years they have been terribly wasted by war and disease. They numbered 1,400 in 1904, attached to the Kiowa agency, Okla.

[p. 327-B]

COMANCHE TRIBE

Caddo, Comanche, Cotton, Grady, Kiowa, Tillman, and Washita Counties, OKLAHOMA
Tribal Headquarters: Anadarko, Oklahoma 73005

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Federal Trust Area
Population: 3,300 (BIA 11/72)

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LAND STATUS Total Area: 234,299.45 acres (three tribes) 659
Tribally Owned: 4,373.41 acres 423
Allotted: 229,926.04 acres
(Acreage by individual tribes is not available. Total includes all three tribes.)
Owned Jointly With the Kiowa and Apache Tribes of Oklahoma. (648)
This land is held in trust by the United States under the act of June 24, 1948.

HISTORY AND CULTURE

The Comanche are of the Shoshonean linguistic group. In 1719, they were mentioned as living in what is now western Kansas. Legends indicate that the Comanche may have had horses before the Spanish arrived. Where they obtained them is not known. The horse changed the Comanche's mode of living into a nomadic one. They made little agricultural use of the land and lived in easily transportable tepees. Long known as the finest horsemen of the plains, they had a reputation for courage in battle when facing great odds. They were traditionally hunters. Their diet consisted of game meat, berries, edible roots, but mainly the buffalo, whose skin the Comanche used for clothing, bedding, and shelter.

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For nearly 2 centuries they were at war with the Spaniards in Mexico and raided Mexican settlements as far south as Durango and Zacatecas. Generally friendly to the Americans, they were bitter enemies of the Texans who had dispossessed them of their best hunting grounds. They waged relentless war against them for almost 40 years. Around 1795, they became close confederates of the Kiowa and also allied themselves with the Apache.

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Several treaties were consummated between the United States and the Comanche Tribe between 1834 and 1875. In the treaty of 1867 the Comanche, along with their allies, the Kiowa and Apache Tribes, were assigned a tract of land in Oklahoma containing 2,968,893 acres. Individuals were allotted 160 acres each.

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GOVERNMENT

The tribe's constitution and bylaws were adopted and approved by the Bureau of Indian Affairs in 1966. The tribal business committee is the governing body and is composed of a chairman, vice chairman, secretary-treasurer, and five committee members. They are not organized under the Oklahoma Indian Welfare Act.

Vital Statistics

162	Population:	
	Indians residing on or adjacent to reservation:	3,300
162	Labor Force:	
464	Total:	551
	Unemployed:	125
	Unemployment rate:	23%
871	Education:	
	(tribal estimates)	
	Average grade level achieved:	9th
	Number graduated from college in 1972:	11